

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF WOMEN
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND POLAND IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Chapter I. General Remarks.

§ I. Historical outline of women's part in the society and its economic activities.

" But here, lease you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. For seeinge they bestowe but VI houres in woork, perchaunce you mave thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges herof may ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that small time is not only enough, but also to muche, for the stoore and abundance of all thinges that be requisite, other for the necessitie or commoditie of liffe. The whiche thing you also shall perceauce, if you weye and consider with yourselves how great a parte of the people in other countries lyueth ydle.

First, almost all women, which be the halfe of the whole number" /Thomas More, "Utopia", Chapter IV./.

These words of the famous social philosopher whom nobody can suspect of defending vested interests prove as clearly as possible how the work of women was underestimated throughout the ages. Even the most noble, most idealistic minds as Thomas More were misguided in this respect either by wrong but well established popular opinions favouring the work of the "stronger" sex or superficial impressions caused by small sections of volatile women, usually from the top of the society.

Many of these prejudices have survived till our days, many of them, although officially condemned, are chaping to create a genral atmosphere around the working women. Many men and even women are subconsiously or semi-consiously influenced in their attitude to the question of women's work by the centuries and centuries of men's domination and resulting from it discrimination in treatment.

It seems therefore reasonable and helpful, before describing the contemporary economic situation of women and discussing its problems, to pass in a short review how the position of women in a society was being shaped throughout last few centuries. Such a review can help to trace the roots of contemporary prejudices and inequalities and to create a proper perspective for questions of to-day.

Feudal system.

The rough customs of Barbarians taking over the Roman Empire heritage were generally softened by the influence of the Christian church. They were influenced also in respect of the relations of men towards women. But legally the women were during all their life under the authority of the men, with one outlet only - the monastic life. Nevertheless an agricultural and feudal society in its early stage had to allot much of the work to the women. Everyone connected with agriculture knows very well what an essential part women play in this occupation. Moreover the higher classes of such a society offered to the women very responsible posts in the administration. The wives of lords had to handle the administrative part of business of the castle.

The institution of chivalry carried with it, a semi-platonic cult of a chosen lady, often fictitious. This spreading of an ideal of womanhood together with the chivalrous rules of courteous, protective and honourable relations to the women strengthened the position of these latter. It is also a proof of the coming into existence of a class of leisured ladies. It seems useful to mention the peculiarities of women's position in Poland at that period.

The slavonic tribes which formed a Polish State during the Xth century were chiefly of the agricultural type. Agriculture had to remain the basic occupation for centuries. The monogamy and the patriarchal pattern of social life were the bases of woman's position. Poland's rulers decided to accept Christianity from the Western Roman Catholic Church in opposite to the Ruthenian rulers who were attracted by Constantinop~~al~~ and Ortodox Church. This decision in a most essential way influenced the following development of Polish culture connected firmly with the West. The clergy, the artists, the scholars were flowing from the West or were educated there. The Latin alphabet was adopted by Poland while her eastern neighbours stuck to the Greek alphabet, transformed afterwards in a special alphabet incomprehensible to the Western peoples. This circumstances rendered accessible for Poland automatically all the cultural and scientific achievements of the West.

These bonds with Western culture were strengthened further by the successful opposition of Poles against the invasions of Tartars. The Tartars conquered most of the Ruthenian dukedoms and invaded Poland. They defeated Polish forces at Lignica in 1241 before the German Emperor decided to come with help. But this victory proved to be so costly that the Tartars did not venture any farther and retreated into the steppes beyond Dnieper and into Crimea. Nevertheless they kept in bondage the Russian dukedoms for two hundred years and often organised highly devastating expeditions to Poland. These circumstances are mentioned in order

to explain the origin of the cultural factors influencing the position of Polish women.² The borders of Poland were actual borders between West and East. The woman in Poland was not affected by Eastern ideas of women's uncleanness, harem seclusion etc. The difficult conditions of life, the scarcity of material resources did not allow more sophisticated relations towards women. The society, repelling vigorously the invasions from the West and the East needed strong women's companions able to replace ~~the~~ men during war-time in the cultivation of land. Hence, the Polish women in the mediaeval times resembled very much the Greek women of the Homeric period. Their way of living was illustrated by their participation in hunting the most dangerous animals,

Incidentally, the institution of chivalry, firmly rooted in Poland showed a comparatively weak development of the cult of a Knight's Dame. Generally speaking Polish mediaeval society had rather a patriarchal than^{I/} feudal character. The feudal period was almost non-existing in Poland's history. Thus the mother's position was very strong and in particular esteemed^{2/}. This circumstance together with the pagan Slavonic tradition fostered the flourishing of the worship of Holy Virgin Mary, God's Mother, one

1/. There are several proofs of the protection of women against the abuses of patriarchal authority. E.G. in XIV cent. several Acts of Parliament prescribed a special proceeding for a woman wanted to get married against the will of her guardian.

2/. There were severe penalties for the libel or insult of women being not or as well as against the honour of woman. It seems interesting to note that at the end of XIV cent. when a noble did some libellous remarks about the Queen he was judged according to the regulations defending the honour of every woman and was punished accordingly.

of the most characteristic features of Polish religious life till our times. Successively it influenced the social status of a Polish mother.

As in other countries at that time the women had not political rights. Their influence on political affairs depended on their personality and was helped by their position in the family's life. It seems interesting to mention that there were traditions of women-rulers in Poland. In X cent. the legendary princess Wanda, famous for her beauty, inherited the throne of Poland and is said to have conducted the Polish army, repelling the invasion of the German prince who was refused her hand. Princess Wanda in order to avoid further bloodshed drowned herself in the Vistula.

The other, strictly historical feminine person in Poland's mediaeval history is Queen Hedvig who in 1384 was elected to the throne of Poland after the death of her father Ludovicus, king of Poland and Hungary. Against the will of her heart she accepted the marriage with the Lithuanian king Wladyslaw Jagiello, both for political and religious reasons. At one stroke the last European pagan nation was converted to the Christian faith and the union of Poland and Lithuania was carried out, making it possible for both countries to repel German invaders. Queen Hedvig played thus a very eminent part in Polish history, being famous for her physical beauty, moral virtues and high education. Her patronage for culture and science was expressed by her will. At her death in 1399 she left all her personal possessions, particularly je-

wels, on behalf of the University of Cracow.

The Renaissance and the modern period.

When discussing this period it seems necessary to pay still greater attention to the divergencies of both countries.

The Renaissance rendered the individual development far easier.

The women of trained intellect are more numerous, they are showing great independence of mind and taste. Queen Elizabeth is one of the most representative women of Renaissance period.

The Protestantism adopted in many countries emphasised in a very vivid way the rights of human beings to preserve their convictions. Protestantism by its individualistic character helped also to recognise the rights of women, possessing the same immortal soul as the men. But some peculiarities of the Puritan outlook on life influenced the situation of women in a rather negative way. The greatest stress put on sexual morality, the re-born spirit of the first ascetic Christians together with the renewed, rather subconsciously, idea of woman's "uncleanliness" produced a curious contradictory conception of woman's position. The biological functions of both sexes were associated with the sin. Naturally this sin was reflected principally on the weaker party - the woman, not ~~not~~ the man was a source of evil. At the same time the social and moral conditions limited the activity of women to the strictly domestic sphere, their essential part being to feed and nourish ^{the children} which was thought a very important function, and to comfort husbands in a most discreet way. Thus, the women were bound

to be associated with the idea of seduction and the ancient Christian definition of the gateway of evil.

They aroused suspicions of the society, expressed ^{by} numerous processes against witches mostly found guilty. The abolition of monasteries in Protestant countries saved perhaps many girls from being sent there for economic purposes as e.g. to avoid giving them dowry. But at the same time this circumstance deprived the unmarried women of an important outlet for their activity, both administrative and intellectual as well as of the kind of refuge, where they were able to get a social status not less important to that of their married sisters.

The gradual reduction of domestic industries as brewing, spinning which were transferred to the specialised workshops reduced the economic part played by women through their domestic duties. On the other hand the exclusion of women from such an important part as colonial expeditions, connected with trade etc. reduced the economic importance of women still further in countries of colonial Empires.

The progress of rationalism put down the Puritan abomination of sexual matters and removed the stigma of seductress from the woman. Contrarily this part of seductress made the woman more interesting and coveted. In the second half of XVII cent. the stabilisation and enrichment brought the usual results. The rising standard of living and the increase of the wealthy class in the population together with the changed political and social conditions transformed the way of life of the upper classes of society.

The transfer from the castle to the palace, the amenities of every-day life, the development of town amusements, gaining in importance throughout the XVIII cent., all these factors produced the new type of a leisured lady in increasing numbers.

The secular boarding schools in Protestant countries like Great Britain and convent schools in Catholic countries such as France swiftly specialized themselves in educating women for such functions. The would-be ladies were taught good manners, a bit of literature, singing, playing, speaking Italian with a few general notions about the subjects which were at the moment in vogue. The general liberal tendencies made it possible in some cases for women to acquire actual independence, although their legal status remained unchanged. In the society loving brilliant and light discussions, the exchange of witty sayings, the refined manners - a sociable lady could easily take a leading part. The literary salons had also political and cultural significance as a place of contacts of eminent minds exchanging ideas. The general inclination to earthly pleasures loosened the marital obligations. Often the marriage was only a superficial and conventional institution both parties enjoying personal liberty by mutual consent.

It is only just to say that the women who grasped the opportunity for the intellectual and spiritual development were comparatively rare. The general trend of social conditions, the educational system of women favoured rather a type of volatile, ego-centric lady, occupied exclusively by gossip, society events and the latest fashion in dress. This type was the prevailing one.

Naturally the formation of such a type was possible only in the upper and richer classes of the society. But being the most spectacular and most enviable, because of the top position, this type of a leisured lady was bound to influence the whole of womanhood. Moreover it influenced formidably the men in their opinion about the women. The behaviour of these latter confirmed the general opinion, incidentally very comfortable to the men that there was a fundamental difference between women's and men's minds, that the women as whole were unable by their nature to exercise the functions reserved to men with few very rare exceptions. The situation of women in the poor classes of the population remained much the same as previously. The abolition of villeinage, far earlier in Great Britain than in other countries, while improving the individual liberty of peasants, affected indirectly their womenfolk, freed from the semi-patriarchal authority of the landowners. But economically, the formation of the landless peasantry had to influence badly the position of women too. They had to do the menial work or to become the unqualified agricultural labourers, both outlets rather discouraging.

The trend of events in Poland was to a large extent different owing to the different ways of social and political development.

Economically, the Renaissance period brought the decline of the Polish towns owing to the geographical discoveries ~~with~~ the swinging of the Eastern trade from land routes, crossing Poland to the seas. At the same time agriculture finally secured its position as chief occupation of the population. Politically, the no-

bility class stabilised its ruling position. This class, relatively numerous /7-10% of the population/ governed the State through Parliament and elected officials, the basis of its political power being the military duty.

The king, also elected, was more and more limited in his power. Thus there was established a kind of democracy as the percentage of citizens having the full political rights was the same or higher than in the Athenian democracy.

Protestantism found only a limited number of converts. There were no religious persecutions on a West European scale, but the numerical weakness of Polish protestants limited only to a class of nobles, hampered their influence on the society.

The women played an important part in economic activity of the nobles. Often they were the chief administrators of estates, usually supervising all domestic duties, including numerous and flourishing domestic industries. Many wars, keeping the men away forced the women to take the place of these former in estates. The Polish middle class, before its eclipse owing ^{to} the aforementioned events, produced also a type of energetic woman, able to cope with the difficulties of the trade. But mostly these women were widows, fairly numerous in the East of Poland owing to the invasions of Tartars.

I/. In XVI cent. a middle class widow Anna Łazka owns a shop with spices, trades in wines, imports from England cloth exporting it afterwards to Rumania, imports from the East furs. She makes herself book-keeping, exchanges the commercial letters with England Italy and Germany, conducts personally cases in the courts, executes very cheaply due sums.

The best known diarist of XVII cent. Pasek notes that he leased one of his villages to Mrs. Gokuchowska, a widow.

In XVIII cent. the National Theatre in Warsaw was owned and conducted by the Polish actress Truszkolecka.

As it concerns the villeinage its forms were milder than in other European countries. From the feminine point of view it seems useful to mention that the law from XVI cent. made legal the custom of that time that the peasant girls could get married without the permission of landlord.

The XVIII cent. rationalistic movement affected Poland's social fabric with delay and to a relatively limited extent. The new political ideas of Blackstone, Montesquieu or Rousseau resulted in movements aiming at political and social reforms. First in Europe Ministry of Public Education was created in Poland, the educational reform modernised the schools and universities.

The political reform was expressed by the Constitution of May, 3, 1791, abolishing the privileges of the nobles.

But these movements were not much reflected in woman's position. The bulk of the society remained unaffected in its customs - the conservatism of agricultural population being proverbial. In the middle of XVIII cent. the upper crust of the society took a lead from France. There ^{was} also leisured ladies who changed the national clothes for the French fashion. Their way of life did not differ from that of their Western sisters. As these latter mostly they were doing nothing, while some of them were women of great intellect and character.

It is necessary to emphasise, that the feminine ideal of that time was that of submission and refinement of feelings passing into exaggerated sensibility. Many of the leisured ladies stuck after the wedding only to the second part, using their delicate

ness ~~of~~ sentiments as a comfortable shield against husband and securing notable independence as a matter of fact. But these were exceptional cases. As a whole ^{the} women legally were non-existent. The woman was brought to the legal life only by the assistance of a father, brother, ^{husband} guardian, shortly - the man, as every where at that time/.

The Industrial Revolution caused the growth of two essential factors :

First of all - the work of women in industry on an ever increasing scale. In this way the women broke the framework of their specialization in domestic work, they proved to be able to work independently from their guardians to whom only their earnings belonged. Particularly importance of this phenomenon consists in its general character .It affected the bulk of women.

The second factor is the decline of household industries owing to the development of manufacturing industries. The economic importance of woman - housekeeper ⁿⁱ diminishes, many products of household being produced cheaper and better by manufacturers. At the same time taking part of the burden from the shoulders of a housewife this factor made easier for middle class women to follow the example of a leisured lady.

Both these factors, although in a different way, created bases for the position of women in next period, strictly connected with our times, period containing most of the germs of problems of today.

§ 2. The growth of modern problems.

The beginning of the political and social stabilization after the Napoleonic wars contained several, at first glance contradictory, tendencies, shaping the women's position in the society. The type of a leisured lady was spreading quickly throughout all middle-classes of the society. But it was undergoing noticeable changes. The volatility of XVIII cent. disappeared. The rationalistic tendencies of the XVIII cent., expressing themselves in French Revolution and its ideological background, caused as reaction the renewal of religious feelings and the increase of importance of sentimental part of human character, reflected in literature and philosophy by Romanticism. The religious upheaval was manifested particularly strongly in Great Britain and France. The early Victorian period brought forward the Puritan conception of sexual morality. Thus, the type of leisured lady was to undergo proper transformations to be adapted to the strict and severe code of morals. The physical chastity, modesty and submission were ^{essential virtues of a woman. The Romantic idea of a woman -} half goddess, subtle and sensible to the limits of or even beyond those of sanity, put forcibly the woman on the altar. The gap between man and woman was widened by the conventional ritual of relations between two sexes. A rigorous code of social conduct was spreading quickly, the lower middle-classes taking a lead from the upper ten thousand. The popularisation of domestic amenities and substitutes made such a following easier even for the families with the great divergency of incomes. A strong, healthy woman was thought to be common, a breach of social regulation

- a crime. The design of dresses of these times reflects the general standards of women's positions.

The dresses twisted the natural shape of body, hiding ^{it} before undecent looks, acting under general obsession of carnal sin.

The education was suitably adjusted, aiming to teach women only how to get husbands without bothering to teach them how to be wives. A well educated girl could sing, play. At the same time this extraordinarily sheltered class of women leading an existence confined in a framework of strict rules of decency lived in the society in which developed the other class of women deprived of such shelter, that of industrial workers.

It was not indecent, notwithstanding the rules of morality and modesty to allow the women to work in mines almost without clothes mixed with the men. This example illustrates well the respective standards of these two classes. The appalling conditions of women working in the industry during the second half of XVIII. and first half of XIX cent., and following protective legislation are so well known that it seems superfluous to describe them here. It is sufficient to mention them and to draw conclusions. Although exploited, women-industrial workers opened new outlets for women outside of the traditional domestic service and needle work. The possibility of gaining actual economic independence prepared the ground for future legal and political reforms. On the other hand the exploitation of female workers created a new injustice in the form of lower wages. The female competition aroused the defensive movement from the part of the men. This led

ter factor combined with the exploiting tendencies facilitated by lack of political and social experience of women, caused the limitation in accepting women to the better paid occupations or posts. This was helped by the protective legislation which easily to some extent the fate of working women emphasised conspicuously by discriminative protection the inequality of their work in respect to the men. It was always first class excuse to offer women lower wages and to refuse promotion.

Such a state of affairs did lead to revolt. The ideological movements of XVIII cent. expressed themselves politically in French Revolution. It is true to say that the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity did not bring to French women political rights immediately. But the overturning of many established ideas the abolition of class privileges, the emphasis put on the equality of human beings influenced tremendously the human mind in respect to the discriminative treatment. For the sincere followers of such a political faith it was more and more difficult to accept the peculiar exclusion of half of the human beings from the benefits of the social progress.

While the Frenchmen proved most vigorous in shaking off the remnants of the degenerated feudal system the leading part in the revolt of the women was taken by the British.

The famous book of Mary Wollstonecraft "Vindication of the rights of women", although was not the first step, has a significance of initial landmark by bold and straight statement of the disabilities and injustices of women's position. Mary Wollstonecraft claimed for a woman to obtain a character of a human being.

being regardless of the distinction of sex.

XIX cent. witnesses the striving of women for obtaining recognition of their rights. Several problems, seemingly separate in reality strictly interconnected, arose as 1/ the legal rights of women in family relations, 2/ the rights for equal education, 3/ the rights to work, 4/ the political rights.

It seems superfluous to remind how these rights were gradually vindicated. The names of leaders, women and men, in these movements are well known. Their struggles, failures and successes are well known too.

As it was already mentioned the industrial development created favourable conditions for the increase of number of women working outside their homes. The movement for reforms of women's position was based not on few precursors, women of outstanding personality, having particularly favourable conditions, because of their family connections or wealth, but it could be backed by masses of working women. The question of women's emancipation was thus transformed from extravagant exceptional case into a social mass phenomenon.

Step by step the women gained access to the educational institutions as universities, formerly shut for them.

The possibility of having education and training on almost equal footing with the men helped the women to obtain better posts. The women are entering the professions although with considerable opposition. Many of the social decorums were shattered, others were crumbling. How indecent would seem for many people to be a woman-doctor while it was thought difficult for

an ill woman to uncover her body during a medical consultation.

The enlarged educational facilities have multiplied the number of women who besides their character and inborn abilities had sufficient knowledge and intellectual training to become leaders. The easier access to better paid occupations and posts helped also to create groups of women of independent minds and means. Thus, there were sufficient elements for the formation of politically minded organisations of women.

On the other hand the general political trend of liberalism and democracy favoured the cause of women. It was more and more difficult to justify why the women would not enjoy the same rights as men.

This atmosphere helped the development of a spirit of independence amongst the women, even most strongly embedded in the social fabric of the XIX cent. family.

But it is only just to say that the opposition was powerful. All legal institutions concerning the relations between men and women were as designed for this purpose. It was necessary then to reduce the privileges of the men. By whom ? By the men themselves.

The economic conditions, combined with the educational system for a long time kept women in forcibly subordinate position. Eventual equal training and equal rights to work and career threatened the men with the new competitors formerly unknown. The admission of these new-comers was to be granted by the men themselves.

The social decorum, resulting to the large extent from the generation of a leisured lady type, proved also to be a very serious obstacle. A lady discussing any matters in public, frequenting meetings, going without chaperon shocked enormously not only men but women as well.

The gradual overcoming of obstacles to education and work accustomed slowly the society to the breaches of sociable code which was beginning to crumble in many points.

The activity of women in charitable and social work, so brilliantly initiated in XIX cent. by Elizabeth Fry and her reforms of prison regime, proved to be a very good initial stage to their political franchise. It seems therefore quite natural that the local government franchise was granted comparatively easily in seventies. This form of activity seemed ^{to} suit well women, who ^{had} proved by experience to be fit for the work ^{in charitable institutions and therefore to play an eminent part in the work} of local governments.

But the intensification of the activity of the women was bound to cause the reaction. The sheer increase in numbers of "emancipated" women changed the face of the problem. It was not only the question of discussing some principles, or some individual breaches of social decorum by some extravagant females. It was shaking the very foundations of family, a basical social unit built at that time on the basis of woman's submission and men's ruling position.

At the same time this increase in numbers caused also men to feel more uncomfortably the women's competition on a labour market. The competition was felt not only among the labourers but

also among the middle class. This transformation, mentioned before, of the feminine problem into the mass social phenomenon was perhaps to some extent subconsciously, one of the principal causes of this formidable defence staged by the men against the equality of women symbolised by the political franchise.

The suffrage movement, born in Great Britain, is also historically well known and does not need to be described. The Pankhurst family stays for a symbol of women's equal rights not only for Britain but for the world. Here it seems only necessary to remind that women proved their political ripeness by staging a campaign involving great spirit, sacrifices, organising abilities, tenacity in fighting against formidable odds, one of the most formidable of them being the fear of ridicule and social decorum.

This campaign proved to the world that the women were politically minded, that they were able to carry out the political fight while striving to achieve their aims, not worse than the men. Although this campaign was ^{not} victorious in its first stages, it prepared the ground for the final victory. Its significance is all human. The suffering, both physical and moral, undergone by the British women and girls in early years of XX cent. were not only for the sake of their compatriots. The British "suffrage" movement was the test case for other nations who often earlier than the British people have come to the proper conclusions from these experiences, avoiding in this way painful conflicts.

The trend of events in Poland showed the peculiarities owing

to the distorted social and political life. At this period Poland was politically divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria. The legal framework, both in political and private sphere, could not be influenced by the Polish society. There were few exceptions as e.g. the so-called "Congress Kingdom" where some Polish law mostly from the Napoleonic period survived, but ^{as} they could not be changed by anybody else than the Russian authorities. Poles stuck then to them. When parliamentary regime was introduced in Germany and Austria the Polish population could vote, but being in minority they were unable to carry out any reforms in other way than it was done for the corresponding States as entities.

But the legal framework, notwithstanding its importance is only one of the factors, shaping the position of any social group.

There are other such ^{as} currents of thought in the society, actual formation of social opinions and standards, its economic structure. In these respects the Polish nation preserved a considerable degree of independence, besides or against the imposed regulations of occupying Powers. Therefore it seems justified to say a few words about these social and economic transformations of the Polish nation under the pressure of abnormal political conditions.

I/ "Congress Kingdom" - part of Central Poland, granted an autonomy by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. In 1830 all political autonomy was abolished by Russia who incorporated it in 1850 again any international agreements. Few separate laws survived Civil Code, the Family Law, the Marriage Law. They were far ^{more} liberal than the corresponding Russian laws and were based on French and Polish laws.

There were two predominant interconnected circumstances :
1/ The fight against the occupying Powers, 2/ the formation of town middle-class from the agricultural class, both nobles and peasants.

The fight against the occupying Powers was led incessantly from the last war of independence against Russia in 1792 and the collapse of insurrection in 1794. The forms of these fights differed. From time to time they were expressed in armed insurrection as in 1830 or 1863, meantime consisting chiefly in keeping the national soul, in preserving the language and in efforts to improve the economic situation of Polish society.

In unofficial or simply illegal activities the legal restrictions are inoperative. Thus, Polish women quickly found their way. They were taking part in every form of underground movement. Under the German and Russian regimes the teaching of the Polish language or history being partially or wholly forbidden the secret schools spread everywhere, the women playing a very prominent part in this form of national activity.

They were involved also in armed conspiracies, carrying messages, arms or giving shelter to the conspirators.

This active part of Polish women in the freedom movements hastened very much the growth of feelings of comradeship and equality between men and women.

The fighting for freedom against the occupying Powers, ruled by monarchs, the inborn instinct for political rights of an individual influenced also the general attitude of the society

in respect to the problem of women's rights. This attitude was therefore more liberal than in other countries.

The second factor consisted in changes in economic structure and the shifting among the social classes.

The development of industries in Poland was seriously handicapped by lack of political independence. The formation of modern industries on a larger scale began only in the second half of XIX cent. The newly created centre of textile industry in Łódź, acquiring ^{quickly} great importance, absorbed numerous women workers. ^{But far earlier, more evenly spread phenomena took place under the pressure of political events} on the Western Europe model. The formation of middle upper and lower ¹² work classes was quickened following the general tendency of the occupying powers to squeeze out Poles from the land. Political repressions often took the form of the confiscation of landed property together with the penalties of prison or death. As a result of such repressions, ~~chiefly~~ ^{quickly} under numerous families were deprived of their former means of subsistence as well as their male heads. The burden of bringing up children had to be undertaken by women who had to adapt themselves quickly from the well-to-do lady to the working woman's position, often handicapped by the lack of proper training. They were forced to take the few openings allowed to them by the imposed legal framework and the existing economic conditions. They concentrated thus on boarding house, industry, teaching the "feminine" subjects such as languages or piano, playing, clothes industry, haberdashery, shop assistants etc.

These conditions favoured the formation of a type of rather

enterprising woman. The pressure under the German regime had taken chiefly ^{an} economic form, including forced purchases. Being more systematic and regular, but acting within certain legal rules this pressure helped contrary to its designed aims, to improve the occupational structure of Polish society. By forcing the landowners, both big and small, to ^{go to} the towns it helped to make the strong typical middle class, the position of woman in the family got adjusted to the average European standards of that time.

It seems necessary to remember that Polish society was in its prevailing part agricultural. The bulk of peasantry was composed of small holders who had little chance if any to improve their situation as there were very few openings in industry and towns, while the cultivated area could not be increased and the population was increasing considerably. Thus the emigration was bound to be a most effective outlet.

The situation of woman in a peasant family did not show any considerable difference. The family division of work assigned her to the domestic duties, the care of livestock, the auxiliary cultivation work. Nevertheless the general social changes influenced her status too. A peasant girl had new outlets opened - the town /chiefly domestic service/ and the seasonal emigration for agricultural work, principally in Germany.

In this way she was able to find the work outside the village, to make some savings, strengthening her position after return to ^{native} ~~the rural~~ farm.
her parents

The situation of women on the eve of the 1914-1918 war can be briefly characterised as follows :

They have made good progress in every respect. The rights for equal education were granted to them in many countries. The emancipation in family laws was not yet achieved, although many injustices were abolished. The economic independence secured by many women actually, in industry and professions, played a prominent part in the vindication of women's personality. When in 1911 Olive Schreiner has written her book "Woman and labour", a book corresponding to Mary Wollstonecraft's book, hundred years earlier, she claimed not for rights but for the opportunities to work; a proof of the undergone changes.

The political franchise was not yet obtained, but the essential propaganda work was done and the ground prepared.

The women thus have secured very important improvements in their situation.

But it seems only just to emphasise that there was a gap between the legal reforms and the social ^{feelings of large groups of the societies. This gap resulted in} dependence of the societies, the general feelings of women's inferiority and the necessity of ^{their} ~~general~~ different status being very common. The economically independent women, fully emancipated from the authority of the man, were still thought as an exception, the social structure still reposing on a family unit with a woman as a junior and subordinate partner, if partner at all. The women's rights were far better recognised from the theoretical point of view, while the society was still not decided how to adjust its social fe-

bric to the coming changes. Many sections of the society were clinging, often subconsciously, to the leisured lady type and its social decorum.

In ^{the} economic field it was reflected by strong opposition to accept women to many occupations or posts, thought ~~improper~~ or too dignified, notwithstanding their training and qualifications. The further illustrations were their lower wages for women even for the same work, to some extent the protective legislation etc

It seems justified to state that under the pressure of prominent women-leaders, the changes in economic structure, logical arguments and general liberal tendencies the society of men has yielded many concessions to the women without well realising what they implied both in economic and social meaning. The society was inclined to follow the legal lines of these reforms while being reluctant to accept the social and economic consequences.

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Chapter II. The subject of the research and the methods applied.

The foregoing historical review of an introductory character gave a general idea of the scope of the problem, concerning the position of women in the society, its different aspects and reciprocal ^{inter-}connections.

Thus, it yields a kind of backing for the formulation of the subject of the present research, its limitations and the methods to be applied.

First, the definition of the subject proper: it has to give a general idea of the economic situation of women in Great Britain and Poland, which implies the necessity of carrying out a final comparison. The interconnection of social, political and economic aspects of the problems of the position of women, shown above, makes ^{it} necessary to give a general description of each aspect in order to form an adequate background. As a rule it seems useful to put emphasis on the circumstances, peculiar to the given country.

Thus, it is necessary to describe the national peculiarities of the social position of the woman e.g. her position in the family, her possibilities of self-dependence. This makes necessary to give a general picture of the legal framework, both in the political and private sphere of life, such as the franchise and the property rights of married women. Such a political and social description must be completed by a brief consideration of the characteristic of the general economic situation of the society in

order to facilitate the understanding of the part played by women in the national productive processes as well as in the distribution of the national income.

After establishing such a general framework it will be possible to tackle the proper subject. The initial step ought to consist of the analysis of the population data, particularly the age structure, marriages, birth and death rates as well as the general percentage of the working women.

Such an analysis should give a general idea of the importance of the question and the general characteristic of the women in the demography of a given country.

The next step will be the more detailed ^{consideration of} dealing with the data concerning women's labour. In this way it will be possible to establish in what industries and to what extent women play an active part.

This will be followed by a more detailed analysis by industrial branches in order to show the position of working women in respect of wages, working hours, promotion etc.

After this rather descriptive manner of treating the subject it will be necessary to come back to the first description of general social, political and economic background in order to ^{compare} confront the results obtained, thus, the problems arising from the flow of women to non-domestic work will be discussed. Particularly the discrimination of women's labour in comparison with general standards and the equality of the right to work

will necessarily be dealt with. It seems also desirable to discuss the economic and social repercussions and consequences of the feminine invasion of the field of economic activity. The increase of the percentage of the percentage of gainfully occupied population, the economic independence of a large part of women, the gainful work outside the home, all these and others connected with these phenomena are bound to cause serious disturbances and changes both in the economic and the social sphere.

Without having the audacity to put forward any definite solution of these closely related and ever recurring questions it seems useful to try to trace their mutual connections and to establish their possible influences on the future economic and social development of nations.

As a result of the above considerations the problem will be dealt with as follows. The economic position of women will be analysed separately for each country, Britain and Poland. This analysis will be composed in each case of three parts 1/the general background, 2/the analysis of actual data concerning the quantitative share, the wages etc., 3/the summary of problems unsolved. Then, the comparison will follow, ended by conclusions.

It is necessary to explain that the subject of the research although it has been often discussed in a very controversial manner in literature, in politics and in the daily press, is ve-

ry scantily illustrated by objective data. The statisticians of both countries have shown a particular indifference or neglect to this aspect of the economic problems of labour. The data are either very general or lack any regularity or continuity. In one year one branch of industry is better illustrated, in the next year - another. Thus, there are considerable difficulties in drawing a general picture and in carrying more detailed analysis. These difficulties are only increased in the case of Poland, as there is only some general and fractionary data available in this country, while the first hand data are not accessible at this moment.

Part I. Great Britain.

Chapter III. The importance of the 1914-1918 war.

On the eve of First World War the British society was tending towards the full political emancipation of women. The pioneering spirit of the "suffragists" was overcoming with pains and shocks, the formidable obstacles of centuries of traditions and beliefs. As was mentioned before the defenders of the "status quo" were slowly giving ground in the legal sphere, while the acquired rights were being given for more slowly any practical meaning from the social and economic point of view.

This reluctance of the society to look the feminine problem squarely in the face and to draw the far reaching conclusions for the readjustment of its social and economic fabric ^{was} overcome somewhat abruptly, partially and for the time being at least, by the outbreak of the war in 1914.

The initial slump in industry and trade caused a very severe unemployment among women, occupied in the branches which suffered the most such as all luxury trades, the cotton industry etc. But the increase of demand for industrial goods for war purposes, surpassing any calculations of military and economic experts, quickly abolished this temporary unemployment.

The sheer economic necessities arising ^{from} the lack of man-workers turned into soldiers and from the increase in the demand for labour, caused by the new way of waging war, forced the Government and the society to tap the new sources of man-power. The man-power /how ironically sounds this word now/ was still

to be found among the women ^{who} at that time were not yet to be included on a larger scale into services.

It seems just to emphasise that this sharp increase of the female labour had not merely ^a the numerical meaning. Important as it was the increase in numbers would be reduced easily by the return of men. A far more important factor was the encroachment of women into new occupations and posts, hitherto thought as unsuitable or too difficult physically or mentally for women.

From Table I it is easy to see that the increase in the employment of women was not equal in all occupations.

The enormous, in new time terms, demand for girls in the war industries was chiefly met by transfer from other industrial occupations, as the initial war unemployment among the women, mentioned before, disappeared. The middle and ~~lower~~-lower-middle classes having greater reserve of unoccupied women were able to supply relatively larger numbers of fresh workers, chiefly for the clerical staff both in private businesses, depleted by the recall up of men to the colours, and in the much expanded war-time Government agencies.

The absence of men made it necessary to trust women with more important than posts than before in the offices/as in banking, while in industry and transport several new branches were opened to them. The most spectacular feature was the introduction of women into the engineering trades. Notwithstanding the lack of previous skill and training the women revealed unexpected powers on processes hitherto performed by men and did work of which any male mechanic might be proud.

Table I

A. Employment of women during the 1914-1918 war.

Occupation	Estimated number of females employed in thous.			Direct replacement of men by women in thous. % of those empl. in 1914	
	July 1914	October 1917	January 1918		
Industries	2175.5	2704.5	2708.5	503	23.0
Gvt. Establishments	2.0	213.0	209.5	197	8470.0
Gas, Water, Electr. /Under L. A./	0.6	4.6	5.1	4	722.5
Agriculture /Permanently empl./	80	87	74	31	39.3
Transport /excl. tramways of L. A./	17	94	93	78	460.3
Tramways under Local Authorities	1.2	18.2	18.2	16	1370
Finance & Banking	9.5	68.5	70.5	57	603.8
Commerce	496	829	839	342	68.8
Professions	50.5	100.5	100.5	22	43.0
Hotels, Public Houses, Cinemas etc.	181	209	207	45	24.6
Civil Service /Post Office/	60.5	107	108	53	86.8
Civil Service /Other/	5	75	81.5	70	1410.0
Other services under L. A.	196.2	226.7	226.2	24	12.5
	3275	4737	4741	1442	44.0

1) The Labour Gazette. April 17, 1918

For the first time in the industrial history of Great Britain women were asked to serve their country by taking up jobs in industry and commerce.

B. Increase or decrease in the numbers of females employed since July 1914 up to January 1918 in industrial and commercial occupations shown by firms, making returns. I/

Industrial occupations	Increase/+/ or decrease /+/- in thous.	Commercial occupations	Increase/+/ or decrease /+/- in thous.
Metal trades	+ 379	Wholesale & retail drapers, haberdashers, clothiers	+ 32
Chemical trades	+ 65	Wholesale grocers, bakers, confectioners	+ 100
Textile trades	+ 2	Wholesale butchers, fishmongers, dairymen	+ .27
Clothing trades	+ 44	Wholesale stationers, booksellers	+ 12
Food trades	+ 31.5	Retail boot & shoe shops	+ 73
Paper & printing trad.	- 5	Retail chemists shops	+ 13
Wood trades	+ 30		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
All industrial firms making returns	- 533	All commercial firms making returns	- 343

Some reservations must be made while reading these tables. The tables do not show the number of about 400 000 transferred from domestic service, small dressmaking & workrooms to other occupations. The women employed in the services are not included although there were considerable numbers of them e.g. the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps being some 20 000 strong.

The work of women had been until then considered as tempo-

I/ Labour Gazette, April 17, 1918.

rary / e.g. the girls working before marriage/ or additional. Now, the woman industrial worker became a person of importance. She was praised for her patriotism and skill, her food and comforts were interesting the State and the society as well. She had to undertake many jobs previously unknown and being an exclusive privilege of men. Women's "true sphere" principle was cast away to a considerable degree.

On the other hand the terrible human losses, suffered in that war, made society think about the increase of population, i.e. about the importance of motherhood.

Even during the war it was pointed out that the improvement in the maternity services and sanitation could result in the increase of men of recruiting age by many hundred thousands, that at the back of the army stands another army of poor women, underfed, overworked, badly housed, insufficiently educated, who have to bear children.

~~Summarising~~
~~examining~~ Briefly the influence of the war of 1914-1918 on the position of working women it is possible to put forward the following statements :

I/ The society came to realise the value of women as workers. This was bound to influence the status of women as members of society as generally the political and social importance of workers was greatly increased by the new kind of warfare. The "industrialisation" of the war, although on a far smaller scale, than now, created the problem of the "Home Front", almost forgotten previously.

2/ The war- time necessity of replacing the men by women caused the break up of many prejudices as to the "woman's true sphere". The slow and laborious process of women's penetration into new occupations was very considerably hastened.

3/ The importance of motherhood as a social and even political function was to be realised to a larger extent than before. Thus the increased stress put on maternity and child welfare.

Chapter IV. General analysis of actual data.

§ I. Working women and the data of total population.

Before making general statement about the problem of the inter-war period it seems necessary to proceed to the analysis of the discussed question. Such an analysis should be, as far as possible, based on the objective data. Thus, the statistics have to be used wherever available.

First, ~~of all~~ the general population data are to be brought forward.

Table 2

A. The total number of females and their proportion to the men.
-----/numbers of males - 100 for respective years/.-----

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1935	1936	1937	1938
Females per 100 males	106.4	106.6	109.0	109.0	108.8	108.4	108.0	108.0

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1935	1936	1937	1938
Females in millions	19.1	21.1	22.5	23.3	23.7	23.8	23.9	24.1

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1935	1936	1937	1938
Surplus of females over males in millions	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8

B. Births per 1000 of population

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1933
	23.1	24.5	22.6	16.3	15.5

I/Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom 1938.

Thus, the number of women surpassed that of men with the constant tendency to increase. The war of 1914-1918 has caused a sharp increase in the percentage of women owing to the huge losses suffered by the male part of the population. The natural factors have brought some improvement during the inter-war period, but the level of 1911 was not regained. The surplus of women over the men was thus considerable, expressing itself in circa two millions. Thus, there were two millions of women who by the rules of arithmetic could not choose the marriage as a career in a monogamous society.

At the same time the steady decline in the birth rate proves that the women were gradually slipping away from the "burden" of motherhood.

Meantime the percentage of women in the gainfully occupied population was fairly constant.

Table 3¹

The percentage of working women in respect to: A. The total number of gainfully occupied population. B. Total number of

	1911	1921	1931
A.	29.55%	29.45%	29.76%
B.	25.5%	25.5%	26.9%

It is necessary to emphasise that the housewives are not included into the number of gainfully occupied population.

The gainfully occupied women with this exclusion numbered circa 6 millions during the inter-war period.

The composition of this number, according to the groups of age is contained in the table 4

Compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the U. K. 1938.

Table 4.

Persons gainfully occupied: numbers enumerated and percentage

Age groups	Number in thous			Percentage		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
M a l e s						
Under 12	98	44	.	0.8	0.3	.
12 & 13						
14 & 15	563	532	451	4.4	3.9	3.0
16 & 17	699	724	695	5.4	5.3	4.7
18 to 24	2 375	2 339	2 587	18.3	17.1	17.5
25 to 34	5 722	2 887	3 359	44.3	21.1	22.7
35 to 44		2 731	2 740		20.0	18.6
45 to 54	2 948	2 317	2 476	22.8	17.0	16.7
55 to 64		1 429	1 799		10.5	12.2
65 to 69	520	404	423	4.0	3.0	2.8
70 and over		246	260		1.8	1.8
Total	12 927	13 656	14 790	100.0	100.0	100.0
F e m a l e s						
Under 12	50	29	.	0.9	0.5	.
12 & 13						
14 & 15	370	366	356	6.8	6.4	5.7
16 & 17	532	574	600	9.8	10.1	9.6
18 to 24	1 734	1 875	1 986	32.0	31.8	31.7
25 to 34	1 855	1 184	1 364	34.2	20.8	21.7
35 to 44		725	803		12.7	12.8
45 to 54	743	531	613	13.7	9.3	9.8
55 to 64		328	386		5.8	3.2
65 to 69	140	92	94	2.6	1.6	1.5
70 and over		57	61		1.0	1.0
Total	5 424	5 701	6 265	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) Statistical Abstract of the U.K. 1924-1938.

It is easy to guess that there was a common tendency, both for men and women of decreasing percentage share in first age group up to 15.

As a whole the distribution of women among various age groups differs sharply from that of men.

There is strong numerical prevalence of younger groups of ages among women. E.g. the group "18 to 24" has the percentage of total number of working women circa 32%, while the same figure for the men is 17-18,3%. The group of "25 to 34" being the strongest male group with the share of 21-23% shows the same percentage for the women, is then largely surpassed by the female group of "18-24". The percentage of older groups of age is declining quicker for women than for men.

Further hints concerning the age structure of female labour are to be found in the table below,

Table 5

Percentage of gainfully occupied females in various age groups in respect to the total number of females in a given group.
-----/Corresponding data for males in brackets/-----

Age group	1911		1921		1931	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
14 & 15	43.0	/71.0/	44.8	/64.8/	50.7	/64.3/
16 & 17						
18 & 19	69.5	/92.0/	71.0	/91.5/	75.7	/88.5/
20 & 24	65.5	/97.0/	66.5	/97.0/	71.0	/96.0/
25 to 34	39.3	/98.5/	33.6	/96.5/	36.5	/98.5/
35 to 44			22.8	/97.0/	24.4	/98.0/
45 to 54	21.6	/94.0/	20.8	/97.0/	21.0	/98.5/
55 to 64			19.0	/98.0/	17.7	/91.5/
65 to 69	11.4	/51.3/	15.1	/79.5/	12.1	/65.0/
70 and over			6.3	/41.0/	5.5	/33.5/

1) Percentages calculated on the basis of age groups of total population & gainfully occupied population. Statistical Abstract of the U. K. 1924-1938.

As it concerns the absolute level of percentages in particular groups the highest percentages of gainfully occupied are in three youngest groups :I4-I5, I6-I7 and I8-24. The peak is attained by I6-I7 group. In the next groups the percentage is quickly decreasing. For instance the 25-34 group shows 35.6-36.5% in comparison with 66.5-71.0% of the I8-24 group.

When looking on the data concerning women in I9II, I92I and I93I it is possible to notice that there was a general tendency of an increasing percentage of gainfully occupied women in the younger classes. This tendency was comparatively stronger in the inter-war period than in the inter-censal period of I9II-I92I and was more outstanding in first groups of age, slowly declining in the middle age groups. The older age groups of 55 and over have showed even the decline of percentage of gainfully occupied women.

Have these observations any general meaning or are they just only in respect to the women? In order to give a proper answer it is necessary to have a look at the corresponding data for males.

As was observed before from other general data the percentage of gainfully occupied males is far higher than that of females in any group of age. But there are other, more interesting peculiarities to be noted. First of all the youngest age groups are showing a quite opposite tendency to these of female labour. Namely in the I4-I5, I6-I7 and even I8-24 age groups the percentage of gainfully occupied males is on decline or almost stable.

While comparing the data for males and females in the increasing order of age groups it is easy to guess also the inverted tendencies in both data. The female percentages are on decline beginning from the 16-17 age group with a very sharp fall from the group of 25-34. The percentages of gainfully occupied males are on steady increase up to 34-44 age group, slowly decreasing through the groups of 45-54 and 55-65. Thus the discrepancy both in numbers and percentages between male and female labour is increasing sharply after 18-24 group.

The next general data is concerning with the economic position of the gainfully occupied women, i.e. whether they are employers, managers or independent. Unfortunately the data of 1921 census is not comparable, strictly speaking, with the data of 1951 census, the general basis of division being different. The 1921 census specifies three classes : 1/ employers, 2/ employees, 3/ working on own account, while the 1951 census specifying also three classes, defines two of them differently, the first being of those in managerial work, the second- that of operatives. Moreover, 1951 census takes into account three above mentioned classes of the gainfully occupied in work, leaving ^{out} the fourth class of those out of work ~~of~~ all three classes together, ^{contrary} ~~site~~ to the method of the census of 1921.

Therefore it seems advisable to look at the data of those two censuses separately.

Table 6 I/

Principal occupational classes of the gainfully occupied population after the census of 1921. /in %/.

	Employers	Employees	Working on own account
1. % of total number of gainfully occupied	3.8	90.0	6.2
2. % of females in respect to the number of gainf. occupied females	1.5	92.1	6.4
3. % of males in respect to the number of gainf. occupied males.	4.7	89.0	6.3
4. % of females in respect to the total number both of females and males in a given class	11.3	30.2	30.5

Points 1 and 3 are for the purposes of comparison, while the points 2 and 4 concern directly the female labour. It is easy to guess that the women had far smaller share in the class of employers. There were only 1.5% of employers among the gainfully occupied women, i.e. three times less than among the men. This difference was absorbed by the employers class, having a percentage share for males higher for some 3%. It is curious to register that the percentage share of the class of those working on own account was the same both for males and females.

The same proportions are reflected in the percentage of females in total numbers of particular classes. There were roughly one third of females both in employees and working on own account classes. Thus in every three employees or working on own account was one female, while there was only one female among ten employers.

I/. Compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the U.K. 1924.

Table 7

Principal occupational classes of the gainfully occupied population after the census of 1931 /in %/.

	Out of work all classes	Managerial work	Operatives	Working on own account
1.% of total number of gain.occup.	11.9	5.6	76.5	6.0
2.% of females in respect to the number of gain.occ.females	8.9	2.4	83.1	5.6
3.% of males in respect to the number of gain.occ.males	13.3	6.8	73.2	6.7
4.% of females in respect to the total number both of females and males in a given class	22.0	12.9	32.4	27.6

The composition of the female part differs from that of males. There were only 2.4% of all gainfully occupied females in the managerial work in comparison with 6.8% for males. The percentage of working on own account among the females was smaller /5-6% than that among the males /6-7%/. But the situation was bound to be reverse in the operatives class, this class having 73.2% share in the total number of gainfully occupied males, the corresponding percentage for females being higher - 83.1%. These data are to some extent made inaccurate by the fourth subdivision "out of work, all classes" as from each of the remaining classes a certain, unknown number out of work was included in that class.

I/. Compiled from the Statistical Abstract of the U.K., 1938.

Nevertheless it is possible to observe that there was a higher percentage /15.3%/ of unemployed among the men than among the women./8%.

The data concerning the percentage participation of females in each class confirm the above mentioned proportions.

Roughly speaking for every eight members of the managerial class there was one woman while in the operative class there was one woman in every four. But in the unemployed class there was only one woman in every five.

At last it seems interesting to compare the data of the married and single for both sexes in the gainfully occupied population. After the census of 1931 there were 59% of married among the working men while from all gainfully occupied women only 15.3% were married.

The most important results of the analysis of the general population data can be put together in the following conclusion:

1/. There was the constant tendency to form a considerable surplus of women, hastened by the war of 1914-1918.

This surplus tended to the figure of two millions. Simultaneously the rate of birth tended to decline.

2/. The number of gainfully occupied women showed a slow, but constant tendency to increase both in absolute numbers and in the percentage in relation to the total number of women.

3/. The percentage of gainfully occupied women in relation to the total number of gainfully occupied population was ^{fairly} ~~fairly~~ constant, the women forming between one fourth and one third of

of the total number.

4/. The percentage of women in the employers or managerial class was three times smaller than it should be if the proportions of the operative class were kept.

§ 2. The general occupational distribution of working women.

At the first glance at the occupational statistics it is easy to guess that there are essential differences between the occupational structure of male and female classes, not only in the positions held, but also in the distribution among the various occupations. The advisability to work out a separate occupational division for women in the statistical abstracts gives a good initial hint. The table below contains the distributions of both sexes among the three groups of occupation.:

Table 8 I/

	I. Agriculture, fishing, mining.	II. Manufacturing industries.	III. Services./Commerce, finance, transport, personal services etc/.
I. Total gainfully occ. Popul.	12.2%	38.3%	49.0%
2. Total number of males gain. occupied	17.1%	39.4%	43.5%
3. Total number of females gainfully occupied	1.5%	38.2%	60.3%
4. % of females in a given branch	3.4%	28.0%	37.2%

I/. Calculated on the basis of the data on pgs 8/835 of the 22nd Abstract of Labour Statistics of the U.K.

Table 9.

Numbers of females in the undermentioned occupations at the censuses of 1921 and 1931

Occupation	Thous.	1921 % of total female lab.	1931 Thous.	% of tot fem. lab.
I. Miscellaneous, incl. farming, pottery, metal	283	4.9	277	4.3
2. Textile workers	634	11.1	656	11.0
3. Makers of textile goods & articles of dress	587	10.3	582	9.3
4. Makers of foods, drink & tobacco	82	1.5	92	1.4
5. Workers in wood & furn.	19	0.3	21	0.3
6. Makers of paper, stationery & paper articles	60	1.0	74	1.2
7. Printers & photographers	40	0.7	43	0.7
8. Painters, decorators etc.	30	0.5	40	0.6
9. Workers in other material	22	0.4	23	0.3
10. " in mixed or undefined materials	22	0.4	23	0.3
11. Transport & communication	75	1.3	82	1.3
12. Commercial, finance & insurance occupations	587	10.3	700	11.2
13. Public administration	78	1.3	3	.
14. Professional occup.	391	6.9	438	7.0
15. Entertainment & sport	22	0.4	24	0.4
16. Personal service	1 845	32.3	2 122	33.9
17. Clerks & typists	498	8.7	657	10.8
18. Packers, Warehouse assistants	141	2.5	171	2.6
19. Other & undefined workers	291	5.2	244	3.9
Total-females occupied	701	100.0	6 265	100.0

"Statistical Abstract of the U. K. 1928-1938.

There are very few women in the primary industries as agriculture and mining. In the manufacturing industries the women are gaining in importance, forming more than one fourth of the total number of employed. In the group of services which account for almost two third of women, there is one woman in every three persons. Thus, two most important differences in the occupational structure of women are : 1/ the smaller share in the agriculture and mining, 2/ the larger share in the services group.

The table No 9 contains data about the principal female occupations. There are 18 different occupations with few subdivisions. The most important /numerically/ are the following occupations, enumerated in the descending order of their respective percentage share in the total numbers of gainfully occupied women according to the 1951 census : 1/ personal service /33.9%/, 2/ commercial, finance and insurance occupations, 11.2%, 3/ textile workers /10.8%/, 4/ clerks and typists, /10.8%/, 5/ makers of textile goods and articles of dress /9.3%/, 6/ professional occupations /7.0%/.

These six classes account for themselves for 82.9% of all gainfully occupied women. But it is only just to observe that some of these classes contain ^{somewhat} ~~pretty~~ different occupations. This is particularly true in respect to the professional occupations, or the commercial and financial class. Although the occupations of these two classes may be very closely connected they differ very much socially and by the kind of work and its individual character as e.g. the occupation of shop assistant and a

shop owner. On the other hand the socially important class of civil servants or of Local Authorities' employees is partly engulfed by the class of clerks and typists or professional occupations. It seems therefore advisable to carry out a closer analysis of these principal classes with the addition of the class of civil servants.

If ~~the~~ choice ~~were~~ made of the six classes from the table with the highest percentage of female labour in respect to the total number in a given class it would be as follows : 1/ personal service /81%/, 2/ makers of textile goods and articles of dress, /66.5%/, 3/ textile workers /65%/, 4/ makers of paper, stationery and paper articles /62.5%/, 5/ professional occupations /52.0%/, 6/ clerks and typists /43.5%/.

Thus, with ~~the~~ ^{above} high degree of accuracy it is possible to state that the ~~formerly~~ mentioned six classes of occupations are not only outstanding in their absolute numbers of female workers, but also they ~~are~~ showing as a rule a very considerable share of female labour in the total number of gainfully occupied in a given class.

Incidentally there are several other classes, numerically less important where the female labour holds a high share. Skin and leather /33%/, or makers of bricks, glass and pottery /30%/, or entertainment and sport /19.4%/, can be cited as such examples.

Now it would be interesting to test if there were any important changes in the intercensal data of the period of 1919-1931. This can be done by comparing the corresponding data of

the table; In order to ^{make} ~~carry~~ out such a comparison ^{just} ~~the~~ six most important classes were eliminated and put together in the table below.

Table 10
Six principal classes of female occupations in 1921 & 1931

Class of occupation	Thous. of women	1921		1931		
		% of total women	% of women in a class	Thous. of women	% of total women	% of women in a class
Personal service	1845	32.3	82.5	2132	33.9	81.0
2. Commercial, finance & insurance occupat.	537	10.3	33.0	700	11.2	50.1
3. Textile workers	634	11.1	65.5	656	10.8	65.5
4. Clerks and typists	573	10.0	40.0	657	10.8	43.5
5. Makers of textile goods & art. of dress	537	10.3	65.0	582	9.3	66.5
6. Professional occupations	391	6.9	56.5	438	7.0	52.0
	<u>4,417</u>	<u>80.9</u>		<u>5,155</u>	<u>83.0</u>	

Both from the numbers of the occupied as from the percentage figures it is to be seen clearly that as a whole these six principal classes of female occupations have held their own, showing even a slight increase. Incidentally these six classes accounting for more than four-fifths of gainfully occupied women were ^{represented} ~~grouping~~ for smaller ~~less~~ than one third ~~of~~ of the working men.

Chapter V. The analysis by classes.

§ 1. Agricultural occupations.

Although relatively few women are engaged in the agricultural occupations ^{there are} several reasons for carrying out an analysis of this branch from the point of view of female labour. One of the reasons is the essential importance of this question in Poland.

and resulting from it the necessity of a comparative yardstick in British conditions. The other is the peculiar part played by agriculture in the general economic and social structure of any country. Its predominance or weakness, ~~can at first glance be~~ ^{immediately indicates} ~~it~~ ^{the general character of} ~~reflects generally~~ a given country.

There were about one ^{and a} third of million of gainfully occupied persons in agricultural occupations in 1931. It makes only 6.3% of the total number. The women formed a quite unimportant group of some seventy thousands i.e. about 5% of this class. But it is a well known fact that the agricultural occupations are among the most controversial and difficult to assess ^{as regards} ~~properly~~ the number of really occupied persons. There is always a question of the owners of the holdings, their wives and other members of family.

In order to illustrate the numerical importance of the problem the table II is given. It includes the number of workers employed in agricultural holdings, family members inclusive and the numbers of such holdings, the figures excluding occupiers' wives and domestic servants.

Thus, including the family members, casually or regularly employed, the female labour in agriculture accounted for some 130 thousands in 1925 decreasing to less than half a million 90 thousands in 1933. The number of holdings being less than half a million - the number of "agricultural" housewives must be less than that. Then, the question of part-time agricultural work of women is narrowed to this figure.

Table 11

Number of workers employed in agricultural holdings of more than one acre and total number of such holdings in Great Britain.

Number of regular workers	1923	1931	1938
1. Males under 21	161.8	137.1	108.6
2. Males 21 and over	494.5	494.2	434.5
3. Females	79.8	82.5	56.6
Number of casual workers			
4. Males under 21	38.3	12.2	3.5
5. Males 21 and over	85.3	67.6	53.9
6. Females	52.8	35.5	30.7
7. Total regular and casual	892.4	829	697.5
8. Total number of holdings	437.8	467.8	440.0

The number of women working on their own account is almost negligible in comparison with men being less than 1% of the total.

The minimum rates of wages were generally fixed in week rates for men and hour rates for women. The table¹⁾ gives some comparable data in this respect.

Table 12

The minimum rates of wages for agricultural labourers.

	Men		Women	
	minim. rate per week	per hour 8d	minim. rate per week	per hour 5d
Derbyshire				
Devonshire	32/6	7 1/2	32/4	6d
Yorshire /West Riding/	34/0	8d	32/0	6d

- 1) Statistical Abstract for the U.K. 1924-1938. Agriculture p. 293/677
 2) 22nd Abstract of Labour Statistics for the U.K. p. 78.

The minimum rates for women were on average attaining 75% of the men's rates, while their weekly earnings were at still smaller ratio - some 65% - owing to the shorter hours of work.

§ 2. Textile industries.

The textile industries form a most important branch in the industrial occupations of women as more than 35% of women working in the industries are engaged in this branch. The distribution of women between different textile industries is to be found in the table 13.

The women had a majority in respect to the men in all branches except dyeing, bleaching, printing and finishing. Most spectacular was hosiery where the share of women exceeded four fifth of the total number of occupied in this branch. Absolute numbers of occupied women were more or less stable, but percentage of total number of gainfully occupied women showed a general tendency to decline in accordance with the corresponding data for men.

The bleaching after the numerical expansion of female labour in 1911-1921 was stabilised up to 1931. The only expanding branch was that of silk, showing an intercensal increase of almost 100%, but it is fair to remark that the increase of the male workers was even more spectacular.

The discrepancy between the wages of men and women is shown in the table 14.

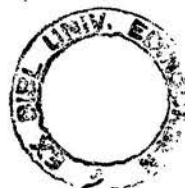


Table I3 ¹⁾

Manufacture of textiles, numbers of females engaged.

<u>1911</u>	Total	Cotton	Wool & worsted	Silk	Flax hemp etc.	Dyeing bleachet
1. Females in thous.	744	388	143	22	64	20
2. Males in thous.	585	257	118	11	40	91
3. % of total gainf. occupied females	14.3	7.2	2.7	0.4	1.2	0.4
4. % of total gainf. occupied males	4.5	2.0	0.9	0.1	0.3	0.7
5. Intercensal decr. or increase of f. / % - or + /	+7	+11	+3	-19	0	+43
6. Intercensal decr. or increase of m. / % - or + /	+16	+19	+9	-14	+9	+30

1921

1. Females in thous.	753	386	145	20	55	29
2. Males in thous.	540	234	115	14	33	89
3. % of total gainf. occupied females	13.2	6.8	2.5	0.3	1.0	0.5
4. % of total gainf. occupied males	4.0	1.7	0.8	0.1	0.2	0.7
5. Intercensal decr. or increase of f. / % - or + /	-3	-1	+1	-7	-14	+40
6. Intercensal decr. or increase of m. / % - or + /	-8	-9	0	+23	-19	-2

1931

1. Females in thous.	776	374	140	40	54	27
2. Males in thous.	542	217	109	33	31	89
3. % of total gainf. occupied females	12.3	6.0	2.2	0.6	0.9	0.4
4. % of total gainf. occupied males	3.7	1.5	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.6
5. Intercensal decr. or increase of f. / % - or + /	+3	-3	-3	+96	-2	-5
6. Intercensal decr. or increase of m. / % - or + /	0	-7	-6	+136	-4	+1

Table 14¹⁾

Minimum time rates of wages at 31st Dec. 1936 fixed for adult
----- workers under the Trade boards Acts.-----
Hourly time rates /weekly hours 48/.

Occupation	Males	Females
Cotton waste reclamation	10 1/2d	6 1/4d
Flax & hemp	10 1/3	6
Jute	9 3/8	6
Linen & cotton household goods	11 1/2	6 1/4
Made-up textiles	9 3/4	5 3/4
Rope, net section	10 1/2	6 1/2
Sack and bag	/1	7

On average the rates of wages for women amounted to circa 60% of these for men. But it is necessary to put forward that the men usually occupied most of the better paid posts. Although about 65% of the textile workers were women, only 8% of the foremen and overlookers belonged to the female sex, 92% being men.

§ 3. Personal service.

This class is numerically the most important, accounting for one third of the total number of gainfully occupied women, and itself equals the number of all women working in the industries. The subdivisions of this class are to be found in the table below / nr. 5 /.

The most important branch was that of private domestic service - about two third of the total. In this branch women prevailed, forming four-fifths of its numbers, the share only surpassed by lodging and boarding houses' s branch. Incidentally, it

1) 22nd Abstract of Labour Statistics of the U. K.

Table 15¹⁾

Personal service/incl. Hotels and Catering, but exclud. Gvt.
----- and L.A./-----

	1921			1931		
	Males /in thous./	Females	% of fe- mal. in a given branch	Males /in thous./	Females	% of fe- mal. in a given brs
I. Total	571	I 675	75	740	I 906	72
2. Private dom. service	248	I 117	82	300	I 325	81
3. Lodging & board. houses	I4	I43	90	I9	I03	85
4. Restaurant, Cater. Couffee houses	51	90	64	76	I34	63
5. Hotels, inn public & beer hpuses	I41	I22	46	I69	I28	43
6. Clubs	.	.		23	I4	38
7. Laundries, dyeing, dry cleaning	25	114	81	40	I40	78
8. Hairdress. manicure & chiropody	41	7	I5	55	38	41

is interesting to note, that the number of women working on their own account was almost equal to that of the men, while in the managerial work the proportion of women was even smaller.

The financial position differed widely. As a rule the women were drawing smaller wages than the men. On average the conditions in the private domestic service improved greatly, presumably because of relative scarcity of servants and other comparatively more attractive openings for working women. The female servants in a well-to-do house could expect some £ 50 or more per annum, board and lodgings inclusive, what compares favourably with many industrial jobs. In this branch too men occupied

better paid jobs as butlers etc.

§ 4. Commercial, finance and insurance occupations.

Commercial, finance and insurance occupations are forming an important group of female labour, even when the clerks and typists are excluded. General characteristic figures are in the table below.

Table 16¹⁾

Females in Commerce, finance & insurance occupations / clerks
-----and typists excl./-----

	1921	1931
1. Females in thousands	587	700
2. % of females in this class	33.0	30.0
3. Proprietresses, manageresses of retail and whole sale bus. in th.	136	169
4. Shop assistants in thous./females/	411	484
5. % of /3/ in respect to /4/	33	32
6. Proprietors & managers of wholesale sale & retail businesses in thous.	464	543
7. Shop assistants males in thous.	352	510
8. % of /6/ in respect to /7/	131	108

As it was mentioned above female labour is playing an important part in this class, at least numerically, because the closer inspection of its structure shows outstanding differences in respect to the position of men. Such a first outstanding feature of the female class is the prevalence of two kinds of jobs - this of proprietresses of wholesale and retail businesses and that of shop-assistants. Both of them put together account for more than nine-tenths of the total number as while the corresponding proportion for men was only seven tenths. While comparing the respective numbers of business proprietors or mana-

gers with these of tradesmen and shop assistants for both sexes it is easy to guess that the position of men was more favourable. The men-shopkeepers or managers were far more numerous than the women both in absolute and relative terms. Although the women accounted for about half of the total number of shop assistants, their share in proprietors' class was only one fifth - one fourth. The proportion of women-proprietors or managers to the female shop assistants was as one to three: while the same proportion for the men was as six to five. Thus the women's position was remarkably worse than that of men.

After deducting the proprietors and managers groups from the general numbers of the managerial and working on own account group there are left some 13 thous. females in comparison with 135 thous. of males. It is possible to deduct from these figures that the proportion of women independent or in higher posts outside the wholesale and retail businesses is in respect to the men even worse, being one to ten instead of one to four as in the previous case.

§ 5. Makers of textile goods and articles of dress.

This class covers a typical women's occupation, which was assigned to them even in the periods of their greatest dependency. It enjoyed also an opinion of a very suitable occupation for the women as calling not so ^{much} for physical strength as rather for endurance, patience and skill. The bad wages, the sweating conditions of work are also proverbial, the trade being permeated by numerous small enterprises, sub-entrepreneurs or workers, working

on their own account, but practically wholly dependent from one of the many sub-entrepreneurs.

The principal subdivisions of this occupational class are to be found in the table below :

Table 17¹⁾

Makers of textile goods and articles of dress proportions
-----of female labour.-----

	1921	1931
1. Total numbers of women	587	582
2. Tailoresses & dressmakers	305	275
3. % of /2/ in total number of tailoresses	78%	78.5%
4. Boot factory operatives/females/	38	47
5. % of /4/ in total number of boots op.	23%	26%
6. Sewer, sewing machinists	113	136

The tailoresses and dressmakers are thus the most important group in this class, unlike the men for whom the group of boot-factory operatives is numerically the largest one. The percentages of those in managerial work and working on own account is again unfavourable for women. Although the figures for 1921 and 1931 censuses can not be strictly compared, but it is possible to guess that generally the women not only did not improve their situation but even had to give ground.

The workers of this class were occupied in their majority in the industries manufacturing clothing. It seems therefore interesting to have a look at the branch structure of this industry from the point of view of the distribution of the female labour.

1) Statistical Abstract of the U. K. 1935. p. 111.

Table 18

Manufacture of clothing /figures in brackets concern male labour/.-----
 I. Total number of females in thous. 2. Percentage of the labour in a given branch in respect to /I/. 3. Percentage of females in a given branch in respect to the total number of workers in this branch.

	I.	1921 2 %	3 %	I	1931 2 %	3 %
Mnf. of clothing	536/336/	100/100/	61.5	542/337/	100/100/	62.0
Tailoring, blouse	177	33/41.5/	56	174	32.0/38/	57.55
Dress making	161	30.1/1.0/	98.0	167	31.0/2.8/	95.0
Mnf. of shirts	30	5.5/1.2/	86.0	52	9.6/2.2/	87.0
collars, overalls		7.5/0.5/	93.0	28	5.1/0.6/	93.0
Milliner, mnf	40	3.8/4.0/	57.0	23	4.1/5.0/	56.0
Mnf of hats and caps	20	10.2/45.5/	26.2	59	11.0/46.5/	27.1
Mnf. of boots shoes, slippers	55					

Accordingly to the data of this table tailoring and dress making were the most important branches. Dress making, manufacture of shirts and millinery were almost exclusively supplied by female labour, while boot-making had the smallest percentage of women. In tailoring and manufacture of hats there was a strong percentage of men. The branch structure of labour from the point of view of female percentage showed a considerable stability.

The wages for men and women were based on separate rates. The table 19 contains some examples in this respect.

1) Statistical Abstract for the U.K. 1935.

I/
Table I9.

Rates of wages in the manufacture of clothing.

A. Boot & shoe national agreed minimum rates /shillings per ----- week/-----						
	Men				Women	
age: 22	2I	I/2	2I	20	I9	I/2 I8
I922	57-60			36		
I93I	54			33		
I936	54	5I	48/6	36	33	25/6

B. Minimum rates of wages at 3I.I2.I936 fixed under the Trade
 ----- Boards Acts /per hour/-----

	Men	Women
I. Boot & shoe repairing	I/2-I/4	IO I/4
2. Corset	I/I	7
3. Dressmaking & women's light clothing/England & Wales/.		
a/Retail bespoke dressmak.	I/0	6 I/4, 7, 7 I/2
b/Other branches	I/0	7
4. Fur	I/I	7 I/2
5. Hat, cap, millinery	I/0	7
6. Ostrich & fancy feather & artificial flower	I/0	7
7. Ready make & whole bes- poke tailoring	II	7
8. Retail bespoke tailoring:		
England	I/4-II/5/8	IO-7 I/2
Scotland	I/I-II	7 I/2 - 7
9. Shirtmaking	I/I	7
IO. Wholesale mantle & costume	II I/2	7

The rates of wages for women reached usually the amount of 60 - 65% of the corresponding rates for men, even in the most typical female branches as millinery or artificial flowers.

§ 6. Typists and clerks.

It is almost impossible to think about a contemporary office of Government or Local Authority service or of a private business without any women-clerks and typists. Particularly this latter kind of occupation became a virtual monopoly of female ~~manpower~~ ^{the} sex and one has grown accustomed to see everywhere the women shorthand typists. The branch distribution of this class is ~~is~~ in the table 20.

I/
Table 20.

Clerks, typists, etc. according to the 1931 census.

	Females in thous.	% of females in given branch	% of females in the class	% of males in the class
1. Secretaries & registrars of companies institutions etc.	2.1	9.1	0.3	2.1
2. Heads of managers of commercial office dpts.	2.6	7.4	0.4	3.6
3. Draughtsmen	6.1	10.9	0.9	5.8
4. Costing and estimating clerks	5.1	15.8	0.7	2.8
5. Typists	238.7	99.5	36.2	0.5
6. Other clerks	402.0	35.6	61.5	85.2

From the data above the following conclusions can be safely
I/. Census of population .1931. Occupational section.

drawn : 1/ The women were more concentrated in classes of typists and other clerks /i.e. less^{well} paid occupations/ than men. /2/ The typists' class was a monopoly of women. 3/ In the better paid and more qualified occupations the share of women was relatively small.

It is difficult to define a general margin between the women and men rates of wages, but it is generally known that such a discrimination existed. Further proof of that ^{is} are the different rates of salaries for men-clerks and women-clerks adopted by Government Departments or GPO.

There were very few persons in this class working on their own account or in managerial work but even in these small numbers the men showed the usual preponderance. In the managerial class there were only 6.8% of women while in the operative class their percentage amounted to 44%.

§ 7. Professional occupations.

This class includes many diverse occupations, several of which are of a particular importance, both from^{an} economic and social point of view. Therefore it deserves to be analysed in a more detailed way.

The Table 2I contains general data concerning this class and is a point of departure in the analysis.

From this table it is possible to discern several groups of professional occupations. First of them is a group of liberal professions which is important not so by its numerical share, as by its social and economic part. Then there are two groups strong

Table 2I.

<u>Women in professional occupations / 1931 census/.</u>				
	Total num- ber of fem.	% of fem. in a gi- ven branch	% of the to- tal number of fem. in the class	% of the total num- ber of men in the clas
1. Judges, stipendiary magistrates, barristers	80	2.2	.	0.8
2. Solicitors	133	0.7	.	4.7
3. Physicians, surgeons, medical practitioners	3331	11.1	0.8	7.5
4. Dental practitioners	469	4.0	0.1	3.0
5. Midwives	7064	100.0	1.6	-
6. Sick nurses	1344134	98.0	30.7	1.0
7. Teachers	206024	70.0	47.1	22.1
8. Music teachers	19155	77.0	4.4	1.3
9. Professional engineers	400	0.1	0.1	12.4
10. Authors, editors, jour- nalists, publishers	3409	16.7	0.8	4.4
11. Social welfare wor- kers.	3705	45.0	0.9	1.1
	<u>378193</u>			

in numbers : A. The group of nurses and midwives connected with the medical profession and forming about one third of women in the professional class. B. The group of teachers, accounting for more than a half of total number of women. Thus, it seems necessary to discuss these three distinctly separate groups one by one.

A. Liberal professions.

The fight of women for entrance to the liberal professions is strictly connected with their trend for education. Quite logically after having acquired sufficient legal or medical knowledge the women wanted to make use of it. The medical profession as it was mentioned before was the first to give way. The legal and techni-

cal professions were more conservative. Only after 1919 the women have gained access to the bar, gradually being admitted to the professional institutions of engineers.

While looking at the table 2I it is easy to guess that numerically the liberal professions do not play any important part.

Putting together ^{the} most prominent liberal professions / as law, medical and dental profession, professional engineering authors, and journalists / their percentage amounts only to 1.8% of the total number of women in the occupational class of professions. But the corresponding percentage for men is 32.7%. This difference is caused not only by small number of women but also by the inclusion of typically women's occupations as teaching and nursing. Therefore it is safer to have a look on the numbers of women and their percentage in given branches. There are very few women in the legal profession, both as barristers and solicitors. In the medical profession women are far better established, the number of women-doctors rising two thousands, the percentage being at 11.1%. The number of female dental practitioners is surprisingly small. The class of professional engineers shows a very small percentage of women. This is rather normal sign, as both legal and engineering professions were only recently thrown open to the women. Thus only the pioneers were able to enter them.

B. Sick nurses and midwives.

These two occupations are an important outlet for the women. Both of them are regulated in respect to the standard of education, conditions of work and salaries. As they were thought from

ancient times to be proper occupations for women there were no limitations in joining them by women. Now, the midwives' occupation is ~~in~~ 100% female, while the nursing reaches the same female saturation, showing 98% of women. Because of their numerical strength / some 140 thous. / and rather favourable conditions this group plays an important part in the general economic situation of x working women.

C. Teaching profession.

This is another group of x occupations where the women prevail. It's numerical importance can be illustrated by the fact that x there were some 400 thous. women occupied in teaching. There are two different groups : 1/ teachers under the Local Authorities, 2/ other teachers. Strictly speaking the teachers of the second group only are included in the professional occupations, first group being put under the heading of Public Administration. But because of the affinity of qualifications and of the character of work it seems justified to discuss both these groups together. The female teachers under the Local Authorities numbered circa 190 thous. ^{having strong majority, as there were only less than 80 thous.} of men teachers. The percentage of women is thus almost the same as in the second groups, oscillating around some 70%. Numerically the women of the second group are stronger reaching some 230 thous. The scales of salaries for women-teachers differ from these for men, as it is shown in the table ~~below~~ 22.

Incidentally, the men as a rule were chosen to the higher posts. In the Government Education the women were in a minority, numbering some 654 against 1799 men.

Table 22.

Scales of salaries for teachers under Local Authorities
/in £ per annum/.

Completed year of service	Provincial scale				London scale			
	graduates		non-graduates		graduates		non-graduates	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	234	216	186	174	276	264	204	192
I	234	216	186	174	276	264	204	192
5	294	264	234	210	336	312	252	228
10	369	324	294	255	411	372	312	273
14	429	372	342	291	471	420	366	309
18	480	384	384	306	528	420	408	342

There was still another discrimination in respect to the women-teachers. They were forbidden to marry. Any woman-teacher when marrying had to leave her post. There were a few exceptions in some English counties, but as a whole the rule was strictly applied particularly in Scotland.

§ 8. Civil Service.

The employment of women in the Civil Service has its long history. It will be dealt with in this place in a rather summary way giving only essential notions, necessary for the purpose of the general picture.

The first and most important employer was the Post Office, which introduced women-clerks and took over the female manipulative staff from the old Telegraph Company. This introduction weighed heavily on the future development, the women being introduced only as second-rates; auxiliary employees, thought to be fit for manipulative duties.

Board of Education, Standard scales of salaries for teachers.

The war of 1914-1918 has played its part in this field too and the inter-war period witnessed a subsequent development towards equality.

In 1921 the House of Commons laid down a principle, accepted by the Government, that women should be admitted to the Civil Service within the United Kingdom under the same regulation as men. The Sex Disqualification / Removal / Act and its resulting regulations opened ~~to men~~, all grades to women in the same terms as applied to men, equal payment excepted.

On the other hand the principles of common seniority lists and common employment were meeting considerable obstacles in their realisation.

The problem of common seniority lists was not wholly solved as it concerned vested interests of large numbers of men employees. It was relatively easy to arrange such a lists for new entrants from common examinations, but the re-shuffle of the existing separate lists in the face of different scales of salaries etc. *was more difficult.*

The common employment principle was to be decided in the departments. Where women were comparatively recently introduced this principle was accepted without difficulty, as it did not threaten the long service male staff.

In the Departments employing women for a long time the position was different. The lack of discrimination in supervising of men by women or women by men was most complete in the Ministry of Labour, while in the Post Office the principle of segregation

was the most widely adopted. As it employed about half the total number of women in the clerical and higher grades there was the large number of women in the Service who were not employed under the same conditions as men.

The table 23 contains the data about women Civil Servants.

I/
Table 23.

The number of men and women employed in each of groups of the Civil Service in Great Britain as on April, 1934.

Grade group	Established		Others		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Administrative	1182	24	28	1	1210	2
2. Executive	14990	702	147	42	15137	74
3. Clerical class	40810	9765	10447	1722	51257	1148
4. Inspectorate	1714	428	59	2	1733	43
5. Professional scient. techn.	4626	54	1503	35	6129	8
6. Subordinate, superv. technic.	6215	239	2743	610	8957	84
7. Messengers, porters, cleaners	904	14	8802	7295	9706	730
8. Unpensionable			2340	55	2340	5
9. Minor & manipulative	92401	25567	45259	14533	137660	4010
10. Writing assistants		7136		200		733
11. Typing grades	49	6200	27	2704	76	890
Gross totals	162891	50130	71354	27199	234245	7732
					311	574

While comparing the above data with the data of 1912-1914 one sees that the advance in total numbers was not so marked.

I/. The Law and Women's Work. I. L. O. 1939. p. 503.

/ In 1914 some 64000 were employed /. But there was a remarkable progress in other prospect. The numbers of women in so-called manipulative grades have decreased by 10000, while the numbers in clerical, executive and technical classes have increased from 4000 to many times this number.

Nevertheless several disabilities remained. The most important, outside the legal reforms, was resulting from the actual situation, that all better posts were previously occupied by men. Thus, automatically there were vested interests against the newcomers. This was reflected in promotions. E.g. In 1928-1935 on average there were circa 6000 women in the Treasury clerical grade as compared with 14000 men. The proportionate promotion of women to the Executive grade should amount to 100 women while there were only 23 women promoted.

The most important bars were : 1/ the exclusion of women from all class I examinations except those admitting to Home Civil Service, the Indian Civil Service etc. 2/ The marriage bar. This bar had ^{showed itself in many ways.} manifested many times. First it hampered the promotion of women, as it caused the release of many women from the service just after they acquired sufficient knowledge and practice for promotion. All the same it caused the uneconomic wastage of personnel. The women-civil servants after being trained, often at a considerable expense, could not fully repay their training owing to the compulsory release at their marriage. It was cited that in the Department of Inland Revenue 9 to 10 men on probation for an Inspector of Taxes duties were kept while 4 to 10 women only were

left in the service. In this way 5 years of training were fully wasted in 60% of cases in respect of the women. Such a practice was bound to make the authorities somewhat reluctant in training women for higher posts. At the same time it favoured to use women for "blind alley" types of occupation in the Civil Service.

Thus, the "routine workers" grade as Writing Assistants became a women's grade. In this way a new form of sexual segregation began threatening the achievements of women in the Civil Service.

Incidentally, in the inter-war period there were some exceptions made from the principle of releasing women upon their marriage. These exceptions were devised to concern the cases of the women-civil servants particularly qualified and were so rare that they had no practical meaning.

3/ The exclusion of women from many important posts in the Service as engineering experts. But these reservations were showing a definite decrease, particularly in the Inspectorate grade.

The unequal pay principle was prevailing in the Civil Service as in other occupations. For every post there were two scales of salaries - male and female. Not only the ~~xxxi~~ salaries for men and women varied if there was a nominal difference in functions the effective work being the same, but even in the cases of complete equality the salaries varied. There were only very few exceptions as for lower grades of Factory Inspectors.

The table 24 contains some examples in this respect.

I/
Table 24.

Scales of salaries in the Civil Service /includ.bonus/
1934 in £ per annum.

	Male scale	Female scale
1. Administrative class		
Assistant principal	£ 271-623	271-505
Principal	834-1044	726-891
2. Executive class		
Executive officer	448-505	388-505
Higher " " " "	505-623	388-505
Senior " " " "	668-834	564-668
3. Clerical class		
	£ 60 on entry	£ 60 on entry
	80 at 18	80 at 18
	by £ 5 to 100	by £ 5 to 120
	at 22	at 26
	by £ 10 to 120	by £ 7.10 to 180
	at 24	at 34
	by £ 15 to 150	
	at 26	
	then by £ 10 to 250	
	at 36	

§ 9. The educational problem.

The fight for rights to education was carried out by women rather successfully. At the beginning of the period discussed the women, at least in theory, have acquired the same rights for education as men. But there was a large gap between the theory and the practical application of equalitarian principles. The compulsory education has played a great part in this respect as even the poorest girls and boys had to attend the same schools. But there were still many differences in the private education, universities, professional training, apprenticeship, etc.

First of all many educational institutions of exceptional standing were set up years ago for men only and they were keeping

1) Women and the Civil Service. D. Evans. 1934.

their masculine character. It could not be reproached, for instance, that the public schools such as Eton or Winchester were for boys only. But it is a well known fact that the former pupils of such schools are in a far better position in pursuing their careers than others. It is true that they could outdistance their male competitors as well, but it is also true that such chances were practically non-existent for any women. To some extent such a situation existed in the leading residential universities. The women gained, as a rule their access to Oxford and Cambridge by the way of newly formed colleges which did not enjoy the same fame and tradition as those for men. Moreover women were practically left out of many social and sportive enterprises of undergraduates. These circumstances have a practical meaning while considering the future of a possessed educational standard and college ties in the pursuing of careers.

Naturally these remarks are just in respect to the well-to-do classes of women, although they can be justified also in respect of many holders of bursaries.

But it is possible to find a counterpart in other classes of gainfully occupied population. Not only the business or professional training was affected by this male priority but also the working population. The apprenticeship system adopted by the British industries and strictly applied and maintained by the powerful Trade Unions proved to be a most effective check. The Trade Unions by devising to a large extent the conditions for apprenticeship simply did not allow women to train, and thus to enter

the better paid jobs in a given branch of industry.

In this way a part of a very important technical lower education was practically closed to the women, reflecting in the most negative way on their economic position.

The general attitude of the society towards the education of women was another factor worth mentioning.

While analysing the age groups of gainfully occupied population / table 4 / there are some characteristics changes to be emphasised. The groups of "16-17" and "18-24" of girls are showing a steady increase of percentage of gainfully occupied in respect to the total number of females in a given class while the corresponding groups of males are showing a slight decrease. This can be explained by the general inclination of giving additional education / beyond compulsory one / to the boys rather than to the girls. If the family means did not allow to give higher education to all children then as a rule the choice was made on behalf of the boys. Moreover, the British educational system offered many very expensive, although usually well repaid in the future, varieties of education as public schools and residential universities. This was true even for the well-to-do classes. The daughters of comparatively opulent families were to be sent to some inferior educational establishments in order to give the possibility for their brothers to get more expensive education.

The generally known difficulties for women to find openings in more attractive careers influenced also in a disheartening way the parents to invest their money in the education of girls.

At last, but not the least, the question of marriage bar in many occupations and the social custom to drop the career upon the marriage exercised a strong influence. It seems for almost everybody a waste of money to provide an additional training for a woman, who has ^{many} chances to work for a few years only and to retire on her marriage voluntarily or forcibly before being able to draw any more important profits from the personal efforts and money spent on education.

Taking into account all these above mentioned factors it is easier to understand the figures contained in the table 25.

Not in one case ^{has} the percentage of women students ~~has~~ attained the percentage of women in the total population number. It is interesting to note that this percentage fluctuated rather around another figure - the percentage of working women in the total number of gainfully occupied population, as there were 28-23% of women students, the ^{former} figure being about 29-30%. The percentage of women among the newcomers was slightly larger, but it had the same decreasing tendency. The same proportion was kept in the degrees and diplomas' figures.

The Next observation is concerned with the distribution of women-students between different university departments. The women students are chiefly grouped in the Arts departments which reflects the large part played by women in the teaching profession. The percentages of women-students in other departments are far smaller, being almost negligible in technical and agricultural studies.

But perhaps the most interesting observation is to be found

Table 25.

University education.

		1923-4	1933-34	1937-8
A. Number of students				
1. Newcomers/full time only/				
	Men	8 005	11 031	10 505
	Women	3 842	3 830	3 558
2. Number of taking courses				
/Full&part-time/				
	Men	20 831	49 114	48 228
	Women	16 306	15 356	14 042
3.				
	Men
	Women
B. Courses, taken by full-time students				
1. Arts, incl. Theology, Fine Arts, Commerce, Education				
	Men	10 393	16 129	15 046
	Women	8 583	8 659	7 304
2. Pure Science				
	Men	5 203	6 598	5 900
	Women	2 199	2 159	1 849
3. Medicine incl. Dentistry				
	Men	8 866	10 426	11 428
	Women	1 998	1 526	1 913
4. Technology, incl. Engineering, Chemistry, Architecture, Mining etc.				
	Men	4 652	4 344	4 690
	Women	57	95	87
5. Agriculture incl. forest.				
	Men	753	701	826
	Women	98	101	146
C. University degrees and Diplomas				
1. Degrees-total				
	Men	8 299	8 149	8 698
	Women	3 611	2 732	2 445
2. Degrees -higher				
	Men	1 401	1 266	1 303
	Women	405	184	153
3. Diplomas				
	Men	2 498	3 283	3 553
	Women	1 102	1 493	1 533

1 Statistical Abstract for the U.K. 1924-38. pp. 50, 51 & 62.

by comparing the percentages of women-students throughout the inter-war period. These percentages are decreasing in all respects. The first impetus of few post-war years was promptly checked and the influx of women to the higher education not only stopped increasing but even began to weaken. Moreover, the women did not make any considerable progress in new fields of studies of technical subjects, being there in negligible numbers till the end of the inter-war period. There is still one observation to be made about the higher university degrees : there the women's percentage was smaller than it would be if the general proportions were kept, as it amounted to some 22% instead of 30% in 1924 and declined to 11% instead of 22% in 1938.

Chapter VI. The legal position of working women.

Before tackling the regulations, directly ruling the position of working women it seems useful to make a brief account in the shortest possible way about the general legal position of women. It is clear that any discriminatory regulations in respect to women have some influence on their economic conditions at least through their social status. For instance, the right of husband to dispose ^{of} with the earnings of his wife would naturally influence detrimentally the economic position of this latter, her will to work, etc.

The reforms, both in law of marriage as in the proprietary rights have ^{brought} practically the abolition of all regulations which subjected personally or economically the women to the men.

A single woman has practically the same legal position as a man. There was a transitory period in acquiring by women the same citizen rights, particularly in respect to the Parliamentary voting. But after 1928 the discrimination against women in this respect has disappeared completely. In respect to married women the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1923 has altered the existing English law, ~~grounds~~ introducing the full equality between the sexes with regard to the grounds of divorce, in Scots law these grounds ~~always~~ being always the same for both parties. The woman retained her rights for alimony and husband's name. Her national status depends decisively from the marriage as she acquires her Husband's nationality and domicile.

The Married Women's Property Acts, even before the 1914-1918 war had granted to married women full propriety rights. Thus, a married woman, as well as an unmarried woman, can now hold and deal with property as a man. There is only exception in regard to the property being subject to restraint on anticipation. But even such restraint can be now removed by the Court at the request of the married woman.

The inheritance law has certain peculiarities worth mentioning. It is interesting to note that any person can exclude by will any members of family from any share in the property on the death of this person.

I/. According to the Parliament /Qualification of Women/ Act, 1918 women were eligible for election on the same terms as men /21 of age/. But a woman had the right to vote only on fulfilling additional conditions as the age of 30 and being either a Local Government elector or a wife of the Local Gvt. elector.

For a long time, there was a considerable discrimination against women in the inheritance law. In the English law this discrimination has been abolished from January 1st, 1926, onwards. The surviving husband or wife of the intestate are treated similarly.^{I/}

Thus, it may be stated that few exceptions set apart there were no important legal discriminations against the women, generally.

As it concerns the working women, their position differed considerably, although in some cases in their favour.

For the sake of clarity it seems advisable to describe the regulations concerning the working women under several separate headings.

I. The professions.

There are professions with statutory conditions of entrance and practice and the professions which are not restricted.

Naturally the legal discrimination against women was practised in statutory professions. Without entering into details it is possible to say that at the beginning of the inter-war period the women had gained access to all those statutory professions. The medical profession long before 1914 had admitted women. The legal profession in both branches was made accessible to women after 1919. Many professional societies admitted at that time wo-

I/. There was left still one difference of secondary character - a husband is liable for the funeral expenses of his wife, but the wife is not liable in the reverted case. On the other hand it is necessary to emphasise that the Scots inheritance law showed a considerable discrimination against women, particularly in respect to the so-called heritable property.

men to membership such as the Institute of Chartered Accounts, the Royal Institute of British Architects, while several engineering institutions decided to do^{so} also a few years later.

The admission to the Civil Service has been discussed separately, with discriminatory regulations against women.

The teaching profession was put under indirect and partial control of the Board of Education which granting financial assistance to the schools prescribe a minimum standard of education and training without discrimination of sexes. In the private schools any person could teach.

Among other professions those of nursing and midwifery should be mentioned. The midwifery be enrolled by the Central Midwives Board after obtaining a certificate of fitness from the Board. The training and education standard are set by this Board.

The Nurses Registration Act, 1919 established a General Nursing Council. This council administers the register of nurses. In 1925 training and examinations rules came into force. Thus, the "registered" nurse may be regarded as a statutory profession, although there was no obligation to register. The rates of salaries for registered nurses were also established.

2. Other occupations.

The most important bar for women in the industrial occupation was provided by the restored Practices Act in 1918. Not only bulk of women had to leave their war-time jobs but in the future they were debarred from most of these jobs by the conditions of apprenticeship and the attitude of the Trade Unions.

While speaking about the conditions of work and wages one touches upon the most controversial topic of the special protective legislation for working women.

It seems superfluous to give any historical outline of this so well known subject. One ought however to remember that the protective legislation for women has played a very prominent part in the welfare of the working classes not only in respect to the women but also by influencing the conditions of workers as a whole. This was particularly true in the case of hours of work, when often the standards put down for the women had to be adopted afterwards for all workers in a given branch.

There were too many changes and fluctuations to be reported here. Therefore one must limit oneself to give a short picture of the situation which has arisen at the end of the inter-war period.

I. Maternity leaves.

I/

The regulations concerned women employed in factories, including laundries etc. The insurance was compulsory for all wage-earners over 16 except those covered by similar schemes, casual workers and non-manual workers, earning over £ 250 a year.^{2/}

During 4 weeks after confinement employment was prohibited. There were ^{the} following indemnities during abstention from employment : a/ a lump sum of £ 2 whether the woman was married or not, /42 weeks' membership of insurance fund and 42 weeks' payment of

I/ Factories Act, 1937, ch. 67, schedule III, part II /London & Scotland/ and Public Health Act, 1936, ch. 49, § 204, 205, 347 /England/.
2/ National Health Insurance Act, 1936, ch. 32 § 32 and 57-72.

contributions/,b/ a married woman who abstained from all paid employment for 4 weeks after confinement received a second allowance benefits ~~from the 5th~~ of £ 2,c/ in case of illness due to confinement ordinary sickness benefits from the 5th week following confinement for maximum of 26 weeks.

If necessary further invalidity benefits. The welfare authorities may make provisions for the care of expectant and nursing mothers.

I/
Hours of working.

i. Women employed in factories of any sort ~~x~~ public or private includ. establishments for printing, production of films etc. home-work /two or more persons employed / - hours of work 9 daily, 48 weekly. The period of employment should not exceed 11 hours, falling between the same hours for all women in any given establishment.

There were exceptions as for instance because of the special character of the work, 5-days week etc.

ii. Women employed above ground in coal mines and mines of iron stone - 10 hours daily, 54 hours weekly.

iii. Women employed in factories on a shift system - 8 hours daily average, 48 hours weekly.

Minimum rest periods.

A. During working day.

i. Not more than 4 1/2 work without a break of at least 1/2 h.

Breaks must be at the same time for all women in any one factory.

I/. i. Factories Act, 1937, ch. 67 sec. 70, 73, 75, 77-80, 82, 84, 89-96, 104-106, 110, 150-152, 158.

ii. Coal Mines Act, 1911, ch. 50 sec. 92.

iii. Employment of Women and Young Persons Act, 1936, ch. 24.

There were several exceptions because of the character of the work, etc. allowing for less restrictions.

ii. Not more than 5 hours without a break of 1/2 h. or 8 hours without a break of 1 1/2 h./Coal mines/.

B. Weekly.

i. Saturday - no work after 1 pm. or other day, appointed by the Secretary of State.

Sunday - no employment whatsoever with exceptions analogous to these for working hours.

ii. No work on Saturday after 2 pm. and on Sunday.

C. Holidays.

Specified holidays. Exceptions under certain conditions with compensatory free time.

I/
Night work.

a/ Women employed in factories - interval of prohibited employment 8 pm. to 7 am. with permanent or temporary exceptions extending it to 9 pm. - 6 am.

b/ In shift system - interval between 10 pm. and 6 am. uninterrupted rest period of 11 hours.

c/ Interval - 9 pm. - 5 am., rest period - 12 hours.

d/ Women employed in industrial work in industrial establishments /as defined in International Labour Convention No 41/ rest period - 11 hours.

I/ a/ Factories Act, 1937 sec 70, 73, 92-95, 104, 106, 150, 158.

b/ Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1936, ch. 24, sec. I.

c/ Coal Mines Act, ch. 50, sec. 92.

d/ Hours of Employment /Conventions / Act, 1936, sec. I and 2.

Employment in dangerous work.

Except the genral regulations of Factories Act, 1937 there is a long list of some 16 different regulations concerned with the particular industrial branches of especially dangerous character. The general provisions of Factories Act authorise the Secretary of State to make special regulations about the materials or processes used and the classes of persons employed or hours of work if he considers that there is a risk of bodily injury.

The branches of industry affected by special regulations were the following: manufacture of paints & colours, casting of brass, smelting ~~xx~~ and manufacturing of lead, bronzing in letter press printing, manufacture and decoration of pottery, india rubber, electric accumulators, woollen and worsted textiles / lifting of heavy weights/ metalliferous mines, buildings' painting etc.

Employment was totallly prohibited in brass casting and several ^{lead} compounds, underground work in mines, cleaning of machinery in motion.

In other cases special hygiene measures were prescribed as provision~~x~~ of milk for all women starting work before 9 pm. at specified processes~~xx~~ in the pottery industry.

Carrying heavy loads was also prohibited, the lifting of weights in the woollen and worsted textile industries being limited to 50-65 lbs per load.

Minimum wages fixing.

On the basis of the Trade Boards Act, 20 Oct. 1909 were issued several regulations fixing the rates in certain occupations whe-

re sweating conditions of work prevailed. There were cited above some examples of such fixed rates of wages. For certain women - employing industries as laundering, embroidery - rates have been fixed for women only. In other cases rates were fixed for all workers in a given branch. As a rule the rates were fixed with reference to the sex of the worker and lower for women. E.g. Laundries, dairies, the tobacco, textile and clothing industries.

Women as well as men may be members of the Trade Boards and the Trade Boards set up for industries employing many women must have at least one woman-member.

Benefit rights under social insurances.

Under the British system of social insurances the contributions and benefits were at flat rate. Both of them were lower for women than for men. The table 26 gives some examples in this respect.

I/
Table 26.

<u>Rates of contributions and benefits provided under the</u>				
<u>Unemployment Insurance Act /1934/.</u>				
	<u>Weekly contributions</u>			<u>Weekly rates of benefit after 6 days</u>
	<u>Employers</u>	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Exchequer</u>	
Men /21-64/	10d	10d	10d	17/0
Women/21-64/	9d	9d	9d	15/0
Young men/18-20/	9d	9d	9d	14/0
" women/18-20/	8d	8d	8d	12/0
Boys /16-17/	5d	5d	5d	17- 9/0
				16- 6/0
Girls /16-17/	4 1/2d	4 1/2d	4 1/2	17- 7/6
				16- 5/0

Plus 9/0 in respect of wife or husband and 2/0 for each dependent child.

The lower rates for sickness for women than for men were assigned partly because of the slightly lower contributions of

women but mainly because women were showing a higher morbidity experience. Married women's benefits though not their contributions, were lower than those of unmarried women. The marriage of a woman contributor entailed her transfer to a lower scale of benefits and affected her status as an insured person.

Disablement benefits were paid under the health insurance scheme, both contributions and benefits at flat rate being lower for women than for men.

Under the general scheme of pension insurance a widow receives a pension irrespective of age, need or capacity for work, while a widower can in no circumstances qualify.

A father's insurance provides in the event of his death, allowances in respect of his children in supplement of the pension payable to his widow and orphans' pensions if the widow dies subsequently.

A mother's insurance provides no allowances for children whose father is living when she dies and no orphans' pensions in the event of his subsequent death.

Under unemployment insurance contributions and benefits are lower for women than for men and married women can only benefit under certain conditions as e.g. the prospect of finding work.

Thus, the social insurance schemes contain many discriminatory regulations in respect to the women.

Chapter VII Summary and conclusions.

§ I. The general economic, social and political conditions affecting woman's position in the inter-war period.

It would be far too bold a scheme to make an analysis of the economic, social and political conditions prevailing in Britain during the inter-war period. This subject or rather group of subjects is too vast and too complex to be treated satisfactorily as a side issue. But it seems possible to give a short ~~and~~ account of principal economic, social and political tendencies influencing the economic position of women in the inter-war period, such an account being based on the general knowledge of this period.

The peace following the war of 1914-1918 has brought forward two essential tendencies. First of them, prevailing chiefly in the political field, was that of democratisation. The second tendency was to be noticed mostly in the economic sphere. It tried to go back as far as possible to the pre-war conditions and therefore was bound to affect women adversely.

The political democratisation being the international tendency and resulting from the war experiences affected positively the legal status of women. Several legal reforms brought the political franchise to women. Their voice was to be taken into account, first as potential, then as actual voters. There were to be women M.P.'s. It is only natural that the political franchise of women in a country with the Parliamentary system of Government was bound to result in a series of acts, aiming to put women on an ^{equal} footing with men. More or less, with some exceptions the

legal reforms of marital law etc. brought the equality of the legal status of women with men. But the mere fact that the process of legal "equalisation" had to take many years after political franchise, still being not ended at the outbreak of the present war is a good hint of both the insufficient political consciousness of women and the strong conservatism of the whole society in this respect. Otherwise all such inequalities concerning more than 50% of voters would be swept away in one Parliamentary session.

The other proof is that women + M.P.'s were far less numerous than the men and that the Ministerial posts were filled by women rather exceptionally. There has not been a woman-Prime Minister. But it is necessary not to overlook a fact that ^{after} the war of 1914-1918 women have progressed a good deal towards a share in the Government. The women-Members of the Government were few, but they were-breaking thus one of the most important barriers.

In respect to social conditions fostering the self-dependence of women it is necessary to emphasise the results of the political reforms - the legal franchise in the family. The women as wives acquired practically equal rights with their husbands, shaking off many previous bonds. The reforms in the married persons' property laws or divorce laws enfranchised women socially very much.

On the other hand further development of ^{amenities} ~~conditions~~ of urban life favoured also the increase of the type of independent single woman.

The mass and relatively cheap amusements as pictures, the popularisation of the motor-car helped also to diminish the importance of family life and even threatened it with disruption.

At the same time far reaching importance must be assigned to the changes in the outlook on the sexual morality. The spreading of beliefs in individual freedom of disposing with one's body was considerable. The "Victorian" morality was crumbling to a serious extent. The post-war type of "garçonne" demanding the equality of sexual rights with men was reflected in European literature, such ~~xx~~^{I/} authors as D.H. Lawrence preaching the liberation ~~xxx~~ of sex from under the pressure of social and legal institutions and resulting from them, limitations of nature. Incidentally, the word "nature" was being assigned often many meanings, depending on the inborn inclinations of a given author. This tendency was helped greatly by technical improvements in birth control. The easy and relatively cheap means rendering possible birth control have abolished to a large extent one of the most formidable sanctions of the sexual code - the illegal motherhood. Thus, the changes, partially at least, in the social opinion on the sexual problem, together with the birth control and possibility of work and independent career helped to create a type of independent woman.

The war, as it was mentioned before, has hastened ^{up} the process of infiltration of women into new occupations. But it is necessary to emphasise that the positions once won were better helped by women in commerce and professions than in industry. The further develop-

I/ Famous French novel of Maupassant's "La garçonne" caused its author to be deprived of the order "Légion d'honneur" - a good hint of tremendous clashes of opinion in the societies in this respect. A further hint is given by the much discussed book of André Gide.

ment was hampered by conditions opposing the female work.

Till now there were emphasised the tendencies, observed in the inter-war period, favouring the independence of women in the way of acquiring equal rights with men.

But there were many quite opposite phenomenons which must be mentioned in order to give the full picture.

The most important perhaps was the unemployment which is such a characteristic feature of the economic position of Britain and most of European countries in the inter-war period. After the temporary post-war boom the economic depression caused a sharp rise in the numbers of unemployed. It is easy to guess that the conditions of labour market created by mass unemployment were to be far from favourable for new, pioneering efforts of introducing additional female labour. While it was possible for women to keep their place in the trades in which they were long and firmly established - the entrance into new trades was extremely difficult. The Trade Unions rules put most effective barriers to the women's penetration into new trades. The somewhat rigid / in comparison with other countries / system of admission or promotion to the different jobs of skilled workers made practically hopeless for women any efforts of overcoming the prohibitions of work in better paid occupations. The situation was still more difficult because it could not be changed by legislative means only. There was no sufficient force, both from social and political point of view, to overcome the vested interests of men in this sector. On the other hand the chronic unemployment of the inter-war period provided men with a very

good excuse.

The disequilibrium between demand and supply on the Labour market resulted, among others, in the efforts to reduce the supply. The most characteristic perhaps of these efforts were the measures aiming at the reduction of women's labour.

It was chiefly done by the refusal of the right to work to married women. The public authorities were carrying out this principle ~~after that~~ rather strictly by releasing immediately their women-employees after their marriage. The woman-civil servant or Local Authority teacher was bound to make choice between wedlock and her job.

It seems necessary to point out the renewed social tendency connected to some extent with the above mentioned discriminative treatment of women. This tendency consisted in a new conception of a "woman's true sphere" put forward by some political movements of the inter-war period, the Fascist movement in Italy holding chronologically the first place and being closely followed by the Nazi party in Germany and their political sympathizing groups in other countries. These political and social ideas are too well known to be ⁱⁿ need of description here. Nevertheless they ought to be invoked as an illustration of the social reaction against the new phenomenon - a working and independent woman. On the other hand the social function of woman as a mother was strongly emphasised and put forward as her essential life goal.

K Although the totalitarian ideas represented in Britain by Sir Oswald Mosley and his followers did not find any popularity

the importance of this conception of woman's position lies in the emphasise of a clash of opinions about women's position in the society. These ideas were stirring all the society which without accepting all that the totalitarian bias implied - was in many of its sections strongly opposed to the ^{so-called} "New woman".

On the other hand it seems only just to remember that the importance of motherhood for the nation was being realised in Britain independently from the Italian and German well advertised movements. The inter-war period witnessed a very considerable development of Maternity and Child welfare.

But it witnessed also the crystallisation of an important ideological problem. The emancipation of women, almost fully achieved in the legal sphere, was making a considerable headway in social and economic spheres too, notwithstanding remarkable difficulties. Now, the proportion of independent women, in fact or potentially, increasing a clash was bound to develop between such a conception of an emancipated woman and the existing social fabric of the society based on the family as a social unit. Although the rigidity of family as such a social unit was considerably slackened and there were even opinions of its progressive disruption nevertheless the society did not still develop any new generally adopted social form of the sex relations combined with breeding and bringing up children. The working women, pursuing their independent career while being single were not taking part in the multiplication process of the society. The increase of their number was a direct menace to the very existence of the society.

Thus, the principle of freedom in extra-marital sex relations together with the birth control as helping the women to choose a celibat~~arian~~ status~~as~~ as their normal social status ~~was~~ opposed not only to the family conception but also to the tendency of favouring the natural increase of the population. Therefore this modern phenomenon of a woman, finding an independent^f, economic and social status outside the family unit was causing much ^{concern} trouble, although rather in a semi-conscious way. The growing appreciation of the importance of the population as the greatest asset of the society was expressing itself as it was mentioned before, in the development of maternity and child welfare provision. At the same time the family as an instrument of breeding children was getting more attention. The efforts of the society did not go as far as in the totalitarian countries. But there were noticeable measures carried out to help the family and bringing up children as the housing schemes of the Local Authorities, the beginning of the cheap milk schemes etc. Meantime the discussions of the case for family allowances went farther on. There were some moves in connection with them as taxation rebate for family tax-payers, but as a whole the question was left undecided. Nevertheless it influenced the economic position of working women as an argument for the inequality of pay, a man being considered as a potential family bread-earner.

But while discussing the general background of the inter-war period it is necessary to avoid the overemphasise of the importance of a new type of emancipated woman. This type, although

multiplied, was still far from forming any major social group. But it was sufficiently strong to put forward the question how to make it fit into the existing social fabric, if it could be fitted at all. Far more important were the potential possibilities of gaining the full independence which forced the revision of many beliefs in women's inborn duties. On the other hand there were masses of women sticking very closely to the traditional solution of their way of life by marriage and family. The independent existence proved in practice to be not entirely free from many hardships. On the contrary it involved many new hardships such as direct fight for a job etc.

The social and economic position of a married woman still did not lose its attraction to the large majority of women. It is very striking for a foreigner to notice how deeply the conception of a housewife, her duties and privileges, was rooted among the British girls. How conservative they were in this respect notwithstanding many modern habits often of a rather superficial meaning. The self-dependent, working girls, with rather few exceptions among higher qualified, were expecting to throw any work away at the moment of their marriage. The man had to earn sufficiently to keep the house and family ^{each} without the help of his wife who had to concentrate on the housework.

Thus, broadly speaking the general background of the inter-war period was that of confusion. The full political emancipation of women was not accompanied by their full emancipation from the economic and social point of view. Moreover, there were very pro-

minent tendencies of limiting and even opposite character. The practical application of the emancipation of women on the initially adopted lines while leading logically to the revision of the existing social fabric was not only opposed but there were even put forward the renewed conceptions of the woman's true sphere, these last tendencies were perhaps less brought into prominence in Great Britain from the political point of view, but nevertheless they acted powerfully enough from the social point of view.

§ 2. Conclusions.

After having brought forward some of the most prominent tendencies, forming the general background of the economic problem of British women it is necessary to look more closely at the display of these tendencies as well as to put together the conclusions which can be possibly drawn from the analysis of available data.

Broadly speaking, the economic position of British women could be defined as follows : 1/ slightly less than one third of them were gainfully occupied, 2/ about one sixth consisted of children below 15 who as a rule were to be cared for by family bread-winners, 3/ the rest - about one half of the total number - were grown-up women not earning their living directly.

The third group has to be further subdivided. There were some capitalists living on private means, old women - grandmothers, or aunts, unable to work and last the bulk of this group the housewives.

Taking into account the number of marriages, the groups of ages and the number of married women, gainfully occupied one can presume that the married women, fit to work, but not working outside their home formed a group of about one third of the female population.

Thus, there are two most important groups from the point of view of the present analysis : 1/the housewives , 2/the gainfully occupied women.

Although the legal reforms have brought full independence to the wife in respect to her property , they did not solve the problem of a housewife. Most of the wives have not private means, but have to depend on the earnings of the family bread-earner, usually the husband. In such a situation the economic position of a housewife depends on the economic position of her husband and on his goodwill and general relations between the members of the family unit. Naturally , this is a reversible process, but to some extent only. The proper use of husband's earnings, eventually the savings, depend largely on the psychological features of his wife. Is she sufficiently laborious, thrifty or easy spender? This question often decides the welfare of the family. But this does not change the fact as a rule the housewife has to arrange her expenditure up to the sum, got by her husband as his earnings. Moreover, there is still the question how this sum is to be got by the wife. If the general family budget is formed under her influence or is she to get a lump sum for the upkeep of the house and for her own expenses, while the man can keep the rest of the money to spend on his plea

sure, the rest defined by himself ? The practice of administering a family budget varies largely. In one case a man keeps some pocket money, the bulk of his earnings giving to his wife, who is to administer the expenditure side. But this pocket can become a very considerable part of earnings. In other cases a lump sum on the house upkeep being strictly assigned, a housewife must ask her husband for the money for any of her personal expenses.

There is no place to discuss the typical relations in the family in respect to its practical budget administration. These circumstances are only brought forward to illustrate the economic dependence of such a large section of female population.

Some examples of legal character give a further illustration to the practical meaning of such a dependence.

Thus, the husband being obliged to keep his wife, is obliged among other ^{things} to provide her clothings. But his duty is fulfilled if he lends the clothes to his wife. So, the housewife for all her hard work may be deprived, in the theory at least, of her clothes. The other case is also of practical meaning. If the housewife is given a lump sum for the upkeep of the home she is presumed to act as an agent of her husband. Thus, if she is working more than on average and can spare some money the savings do not belong to her but to her husband.

The economic position of housewife is therefore fully dependent. She is assured only board, lodging and clothes. If she did the same work as cleaning, washing, cooking, outside her home she would be able to secure board and lodging plus wages as domestic

servants usually do.

But it would be a gross exaggeration and inaccuracy to put any statement about the full actual dependence of a housewife. Usually she is on her own, she can make savings which are in practice common property, she has her pocket money often in a far considerable degree than her husband. This is a good example of interdependence of economic position of the women, ^{social institution} and general customs of the society.

~~The~~ conclusions can be drawn :

1/Economically the housewives, forming about one third of the female population were fully dependent, 2/the social customs as well as personal feelings upon which the family is built have weakened or often made to disappear this economic dependence, 3/the work of housewife was economically not properly appreciated.

The second group of female population consists of the women gainfully occupied.

While analysing particular data the peculiar features of this group as the occupational composition, age groups, etc, were often mentioned, It seems therefore useful to put them forward now before coming to the conclusions.

The gainfully occupied women were only half the number of the gainfully occupied men. But their part in a total economic effort of the society can not be overlooked as there was one woman in every three gainfully occupied members of the society.

As a rule this section of women was composed from unmarried women belonging to the younger ^{age} groups. The legal reforms of the

inter-war period have opened theoretically to the women all careers. But the restoration of the Practices Act meant that women were discharged wholesale from the industrial posts for which they were fit in war time. The opening of new careers chiefly in the professions affected only a small part of women. The statistical data do not show any considerable changes in the branch structure or positions held during the inter-war period. Moreover the educational statistics / decline of women-students / give a hint of a certain disillusion about the possibilities of proper career for educated woman.

The analysis of the economic position of female labour would seem to show : 1/women were concentrated in worse paid branches, 2/they were not admitted to many industrial better paid occupations, 3/women were occupying independent or better paid jobs in a far less than proportional ^{degree} to their number degree, 4/women were paid lower wages for the same work in comparison with men, 5/the protective legislation tended to assure to women lighter conditions of work serving at the same time as an excuse for unequal pay, 6/there was a marriage bar in most occupations legal or as a matter of fact.

Thus, the following conclusions can be drawn in respect to the gainfully occupied women ,

1/The legal equalisation of the women in the inter-war period was not carried out fully in the respect of the right to work.

2/The legal equalisation did not bring automatically an economic equalisation, women being still newcomers, and having to fight

powerful vested interests of men.

3/The position of gainfully occupied women was influenced very much by the institution of the family and social function of the housewife. The society / and the women themselves / were still undecided how, if at all, to work out a solution for women gainfully occupied and possessing a family.

4/There were some ^{reactionary} backward tendencies opposed to the work of women outside their home.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Part II. POLAND.

Chapter VI. The start.

The 1914-1918 war has influenced the social structure and way of life as well as the legal and political framework of every European country.

But its influence was most marked in respect to those European countries which owing to that war either regained their political independence or had undergone such profound territorial and political changes as to be quite different states in comparison with their pre-war status.

Poland was one of the few European countries combining the features of both cases. The war has made possible for Poland to recover her independence. At the same time the independence meant putting together in one political and social unit three parts of Poland living for more than a hundred years under three different political regimes, in three different social structures.

On the other hand the 1914-1918 war was waged by Germans economically on the Polish soil in a different way than in other countries. The Germans decided to treat Poland as a source of raw materials and agricultural products. They exploited the economic resources of newly occupied part of Poland in a drastic way, destroying on purpose her industries.

I/. It ought be remembered that in a relatively early phase of the war Russians were forced to retreat and almost whole of Poland was under the German-Austrian occupation.

Thus, the women were not called to the industrial work, but had to toil on the soil, /often in Germany/ while the urban population had to face an acute unemployment problem together with the starvation caused by the wholesale robbery of the agricultural output.

Therefore the war did not cause the influx of women in the industrial occupations. But the war-time conditions of personal hardship particularly the absence of male bread-earners in families and loss of usual means of subsistence have forced many Polish women to undertake new and previously unknown occupations, mostly as independent small traders, entrepreneurs or even in handicraft.
I/

Such a situation was by no means unknown to Polish women as it had often arisen during a period of political persecutions. But it was bound to foster a spirit of independence among Polish women and to strengthen the opinions of the society on the emancipation of women.

The purely political factors were perhaps of more importance. Polish women had taken a vivid part in the struggles for independence.
2/ Practically each section of Polish military underground organisation of that time had its male and female members, both exposed to the same dangers.

I/. There were so many such cases, particularly among the urban population on the formerly Russian part, that they can form a characteristic and important social phenomenon of that time.
2/. It is worth mentioning that during 1914-1918 war military units composed of Polish women had taken part in fighting. In 1918-1920 such units had distinguished themselves many times fighting as normal infantry units.

Thus, on the recovery of independence Polish society was fully convinced about the necessity of granting to the Polish women equal rights.

The realisation of this tendency was made technically easier by the fact that after the recovery of independence it was necessary to review all laws, issued by the occupying Powers and to build up a new political structure of the Polish State. The basis of such a structure was to be given, according to the continental customs, in a constitution.

The constitutional provisions of 1919 as well as the Constitution voted by the Polish Diet in 1921, both granted to the women fully equal status with that of men.

Summarising briefly the influence of the 1914-18 war on the situation ~~in~~ of Polish women it is possible to put forward the following statements :

1/There was little influence directly regarding the occupational structure of Polish women's labour.

2/The political results of this war particularly the revival of an independent Polish State made it possible to put into legal forms the true social tendencies and opinions. This possibility resulted immediately in the abolishment of any sex disqualification. Thus, the legal obstacles were taken away.

Chapter I~~K~~. General analysis of actual data.

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Any analysis based on statistical data is bound to meet
of this problem
very considerable if not unsurmountable difficulties. First of all it is necessary to mention that many statistics concerning

Poland, particularly of a more detailed character are not available at present.

On the other hand the peculiar political conditions of this part of Europe where Poland is situated, caused also many gaps in statistical records. Only few, general data /estimated/ can be available in respect to the territory of the Polish State for the years, preceding 1918, as previously there were no separate statistics for Poland, her administrative division /statistical one /being that of the three occupying States.

The prolonged war-time conditions have made the first Polish census of population in 1921 not as detailed as it would be.

At the same time there was one more factor making the statistical records particularly difficult to be made and to be analysed. This was the particular structure of an agricultural country.

More than 60% of the population consisted chiefly of small agricultural holders and their families, working independently in family units and therefore very difficult to any recording, and there were not available such auxiliary statistical sources as social insurance records of enterprises, records of bigger firms etc. This factor will to be accounted in its several aspects many times. Now it is sufficient only to indicate its existence.

The general population data are contained in the table 27.

Table 27.

A. The total number of females and their proportion to the men.

	/number of males -100 /.	
females per 100 males	1921 106.9	1931 106.9
females in mill.	14.1	16.5
surplus	1.0	1.0

B. Birth per 1000 of population	1/ 34.7	2/ 27.6
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C. The percentage of working women in respect to ; 1. the total number of gainfully occupied population, 2. total number of female

1.	44.5	46.0
2.	44.0	62.5

The total number of women was therefore greater than that of men, the surplus being stable in the inter-censal period of 1921-1931 and amounting to circa 1 million of women. The birth rate showed a constant tendency to decrease.

The percentage of gainfully occupied women is strikingly high in both respects - women constituted almost half of the total gainfully occupied population and more than half of their total number was gainfully occupied in 1931.

In order to understand better these figures it seems necessary to point out what was just said about the agricultural occupation. First of all it is interesting to remark the difference between the numerical relations in urban and rural areas.

1/. Average for 1931 - 1935

2/. Average for 1936 - 1938

Table 28

Population of Poland according to age and sex / 1931r/.
 ----- Percentage figures. -----

Urban	Total	aged	Age of population /in years /							
Rural		15-49	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70
sex		only								ove
Poland	100,0	51,6	24,9	18,2	19,2	13,3	9,4	7,1	5,1	2,7
Males	100,0	50,5	26,1	18,6	19,0	13,0	9,0	6,8	4,9	2,5
Females	100,0	52,3	23,8	17,8	19,5	13,6	9,7	7,3	5,3	2,9
Urban	100,0	56,7	20,3	17,3	20,8	15,2	10,7	7,8	5,2	2,6
Rural	100,0	49,6	26,6	18,8	18,7	12,6	8,8	6,8	5,1	2,7
Females per 100 males										
Poland	106,9	110,7	97,5	102,0	100,6	112,8	114,7	114,2	116,2	123,1
Urban	112,8	117,5	97,1	105,4	119,8	119,8	116,8	116,7	121,8	151,2
Rural	104,7	107,9	97,6	100,8	105,9	109,8	113,7	113,1	111,3	114,1

It is interesting to note that in the rural areas the number of males and females were far better balanced than in the urban areas. As to this difference taking place and increasing in the grown-up groups of ages it is possible to deduce that there were two causes of that : first - the greater stress put on the male urban population and greater mortality which is indicated by the sharp increase of females surplus in last age groups, second - the migration of "supernumerary" single girls from the villages to the towns. This latter cause is confirmed by every-day observations.

Incidentally, the division between the urban and rural areas corresponds more or less to the division between agricultural

and other occupations as more than 80% of the rural population are engaged in the agriculture while less than 7% of the urban population did belong to the agricultural occupations.

Because of this difference as well as because of other essential economic and social differences in agricultural occupation it seems advisable to carry out the first general division and sex composition on such basis.

Table 29.

Active population of Poland in agriculture and other occupation
-----according to sex.-----

Agriculture :	I92I	I93I
1. Gainfully occupied females in thous.	5.119	8.114
2. % of total gain. occup. population in agricultural group	49,9	49,9
3. % of total number of females gain. occupied	83,0	83,0
Other occupations :		
1. Gainfully occupied females in thous.	1.066	1.673
2. % of total gain. occup. population in agricultural group	29,2	31,4
3. % of total number of females gain. occupied	17,0	17,0
Total :		
1. Total number of women	6.185	10.283
2. % of women in total gain. occup. population	45,0	46,0
3. % of working women in total number of women	44,0	62,5 I/

It is to be seen clearly from this table that the share of women in the agriculture differed sharply from that in the other

I/The increase is chiefly due to the methods of the census of I93I being better adapted to the structure of agriculture.

occupations. Every second labourer in agriculture was a woman, while in the other occupations there was one woman in every three workers. On the other hand agriculture was the prevailing occupation, as more than four fifths of gainfully occupied women were working in agriculture. The general percentage for active and passive population was circa 60.6%, while for active population amounted to 59.5%. The economic position of gainfully occupied women is generally described by the table 30.

Table 30.

Occupational structure of population of Poland./in %/.

Census of 1921	Independent	Salaried workers	Wage earners	Helping members of family	Other un- defined	
Males/100/	38.2	4.1	28.4	26.4	2.9	
Females/100/	9.7	1.9	18.3	66.8	3.3	
Census of 1931/excl. agric/	Indepen. agric/	Hired la- bour	salaried	wage earners	helping members	other undef.
Males/100/	25.8	65.0	12.1	52.5	2.9	6.3
Females/100/	16.7	63.5	11.8	50.5	7.9	11.9

The agricultural group was separately treated in 1931 as for the sake of accuracy it was necessary to eliminate the occupational structure and to put its statistics on different basis. Their way of compilation as well as the results obtained will be discussed later in the chapter on agricultural occupations.

Here it is sufficient to mention that the percentage of independent women in the total number of women occupied in agriculture amounted to 6.2% while the corresponding figures for men was 35.4%.

As it concerns the age group the female labour was on ave-

ge younger. The group of under 19 was stronger in comparison with men, the principal group of 20-29 being almost the same as for the men, while the following groups showed constant decrease / in percentages/. This decrease was more prominent than in the case of men, but the difference was not marked.

The percentage of women ~~being~~ having an independent position was comparatively smaller than that of men. The difference was most noticeable in agriculture the percentage of women being almost six times smaller than that of men. The causes of it will be discussed later. In respect to other occupations the difference was not so marked as there was one independent man for every four gainfully occupied men, one independent woman being for every six women. This discrepancy is still smaller while considering the groups of independent and helping members of family together ~~with~~ which seems justified to a large extent.

From these general population data the following conclusions can be drawn :

1/ There was a fairly constant surplus of women, fluctuating around 1 million. The surplus was far smaller than proportionately for rural population.

2/ The total number of gainfully occupied women showed an increase both in absolute numbers and in percentage in respect to the total number of women.

3/ The percentage of gainfully occupied women in respect to the total number of gainfully occupied population increased considerably.

4/ The percentage of women in the class of independent population

varied abruptly for agricultural occupations in comparison with the other group. For the latter it amounted to two thirds of the percentage which ~~xx~~ would be if the proportion for male group were kept.

§ 2. General occupational distribution of women.

While describing the percentage of women in the gainfully occupied population /table 29/ agriculture was put separately from other occupations. Its prevailing importance for the female labour was shown beyond any doubts, thus the first general division into two groups must be carried out : 1/ agriculture /83.0%/ 2/ other occupations /17.0%/.

Next ~~xxx~~ step would be to see what is the occupational distribution in the second group - other occupations, and whether the female labour showed any peculiarities in its distribution. The general characteristics are shown in the table 3I.

Table 3I.

Occupational distribution in 1931 by principal groups :

1. Agriculture, fishing, mining.

2. Manufacturing industries.

3. Services /commerce, finance, transport, personal service etc/.

/in brackets corresponding numbers for active & passive populat.

	I	II	III
1. Total gainfully occup. population	75.3%	11.8%	12.9%
2. " " " males	/60.6%/	/19.4%/	/20.0%/
3. " " " females	71.4%	15.2%	13.4%
4. % of females in a given group	84.0%	5.1%	10.9%
	49.9%	21.8%	40.5%

The difficulty in assessing correctly the occupational structure of Poland's population is considerable. The agricultural

occupation shows a peculiar feature of working family members which to a large extent makes the data of general distribution of active population not correct by weighing heavily in favour of agriculture. Therefore it seems advisable to bear in mind the distribution of both active and passive population, as better illustrating the respective economic importance of occupational classes.

The table 32 contains the data of female occupations in the second group i.e. all occupations agriculture excluded.

The most important, numerically at least, are groups of manufacturing industries, domestic service and commercial occupations accounting for about 73%, almost three quarters of the total. Then come the groups of public services, education and health.

Table 32.

The distribution of gainfully occupied women by occupational groups /1931 census/.

	Thous.	% of total female labour	% of total female labour in a given group
1. Horticulture, fisheries, silviculture	10	0.6	12.2
2. Mining	6	0.3	3.4
3. Manufacturing indust.	513	31.1%	27.4
4. Commerce, finance, insurance.	297	17.8	36.6
5. Transport & communications.	18	1.1	5.3
6. Public service, social institutions	49	3.0	20.0
7. Education, culture institutions	88½	5.3	48.0
8. Health & hygiene	79	4.8	53.0
9. Domestic service	399	23.9	96.0
10. From private means	195	11.6	47.0
11. Undefined occupation	21	1.5	18.0

They include mostly professions, civil servants, Local Authorities employees and teachers. Their share amounts to 13%.

Chapter X.

Analysis by occupational groups.

§ I. Agriculture.

In the preceding chapter several hints were made and some data brought forward which had to emphasise the role of agriculture played both in Poland's economy and in the occupational structure of the female labour as well.

But in order to make a right estimate of the significance of the agricultural occupations for Poland's women and the proper task exercised by them in general economy of the country it is necessary to bring in mind the principal and outstanding features of Poland's agricultural structure.

Broadly speaking these features were :

1/The division of land in a large number of small independent holdings.

2/The agricultural overpopulation and underemployment.

They are illustrated by two figures : 1/ In 1931 - 76.3% of all the area utilized for agriculture belonged to the holdings under 50ha / circa 90 acres/ and only 18% to the holdings over 50ha. The breaking-up of bigger estates was proceeding, as in 1919-1938 the land reform had created some 134 thous. of newly formed farms and holdings. This feature of the agricultural structure has therefore a constant tendency to become more and more marked.

The more detailed description of Poland's agricultural structure is to be found in the table below./33/.

Table 33.

Rural holdings according to the area of land utilized for
----- agriculture.-----

Description	Total	Land utilized for agriculture in ha.						
		under 2	2-5	5-10	10-15	15-50	50 and over	unknown
Poland	3196.0	7471	11361	7287	1909	1182	147	2603
Holding employing hired labour	299.4	236	711	806	398	456	147	240
Holding not employing hired labour	2896.6	7235	10650	6481	1511	72.6	-	2363
Population of holdings in thous.								
Poland	156949	2998	2553	1039	4351	1050	6240	13659
Nr. of holdings in %/excluding holdings of unknown area/								
Poland	100.0	25.5	38.7	24.8	6.5	4.0	0.5	

The overpopulation of the country in its agricultural section is clearly seen from comparisonal data of agricultural population on a given area in different countries.

Table 34.

Active population on 100 hectares of agricultural land.

Country	% of agricultural population	Number of active population on 100ha agric. land
Germany	20.8	33
Danemark	31.2	17
Hungary	51.8	27
Poland	62.8	40
Rumania	73.4	45

The hidden unemployment in agriculture was estimated at 5-7 millions.

What was the general occupational division in Poland's agriculture? The prevalence of small holdings, cultivated by their holders, caused that family workers were playing an essential part

Table 35..

ent and hired labour in Poland's
 ---agriculture /1931 census/ -----

<u>t labour</u>	Males	Females /in thousands/	% of females
teams	7 591	8 104	51.5
teams p.I/	2 690	506	16.0
<u>ur</u>			
orkers	16	1.5	8.5
kers	902	510	36.0

in the agricultural labour. On the basis of practical knowledge of the division of work in an agricultural family and on average holding the census of 1931 has accepted the method of agricultural teams of work on particular holdings. Such teams had the character of independent economic activity under the direction of the head of a team usually an owner of the holding and a father of the family in one person.

The hired labour in agriculture, mostly used on bigger estates was easier to assess. The corresponding data of the 1931 census are in the table 35.

The independent agricultural population formed more than nine tenths of the whole population active in agriculture.

This proportion was still more outstanding for women, only 5% of the total number of women gainfully occupied in agriculture belonged to the hired labour. But this 5% have quite different meaning in respect to the number of women in other occupations. It is a proportion of almost one to three.

On the basis of this table, it is possible to discern following classes of women working in agriculture : 1/hired labour, 2/members of the teams working on - a/small dwarf holdings, b/medium holdings, bigger holdings, 3/ owners of the estates and their families .

1/The following bases for division were assumed : the dwarf holding - a holding not sufficient to keep the owner and his family on a decent standard of living, medium holding - a holding assuring the upkeep of the owner and his family and being cultivated, as a rule by himself with the help of his family only, big holding - a holding under 120 acres which must be cultivated with the help of permanent hired labour, estate - a holding of more than 120 acres.

The conditions of work and the division of labour between two sexes differ in a degree justifying a separate treatment of these groups.

I. Hired labour.

There were two categories of hired labour : a/permanent farm-labourers, b/daily farm-labourers.

Permanent farm-labourers were employed first of all by the estates, then by bigger holdings. Their conditions of work and wages as well were based on the rates established by arbitration on the initiative of their Trade Unions.

In bigger holdings the permanent farm-labourers of both sexes were usually single and young, with board and lodgings provided by the employers.

The men with family worked on the estates living mostly in tied cottages, their wives and daughters working as casual daily labourers.

The wages of permanent labourers consisted of lodgings, some payment in kind as potatoes and cereals and wages in cash. The daily labourers were often provided with the board during the seasonal work as potatoes lifting, bigger estates providing lodgings as well, and wages in cash.

The table 3I gives comparative data for wages daily labourers of both sexes. The daily wages of women amounted to 75-80% of the men's wages. There was a strict division of labour between male and female workers, men being, for instance, ploughmen, or mowers, women helping mowers by making sheaves, weeding etc.

Table 36.

farm

Wages of daily labourers /per day in zlotys/.

	<u>Workpeople on own</u>		<u>Worpeople boarded</u>	
	<u>I928</u>	<u>board I933</u>	<u>by the employerx</u>	
	Spring season		I928	I933
Man	3.9	I.7	2.7	I.3
Woman	2.6	I.3	I.8	I.0
Juvenile	2.4	I.I	I.6	0.8
Man & pair of horses	I6.9	8.3	I2.6	6.7

It is necessary to bear in mind that the index of aholesale prices was in I933- 59 /I928 -I00/, that of agricultural prices - 36.

2. Dwarf holdings.

It is rather difficult to draw a general limit for dwarf holdings in respect to their areas. A holding of 4-5 acres of good soil near Warsaw used for intense green vegetables production was far more lucrative than a holding of some I5 acres of poor soil situated far away from any marketing centre. But on average it is near to the truth to say that all holdings under 2ha /4-8 acres/ and some 70% of holdings between 2-5 ha /4.8-I2 acres/ may be considered as dwarf holdings. One can estimate that such holdings numbered circa I 3000 000. About 5 3/4 millions of persons were living on dwarf holdings i.e. almost one third of the total number of the population of all types of holdings. /On average 4.4 persons per holding/.

Usually the women had to care for smaller children, to do

1) Some 100 000 holdings under 5 ha (12 acres) using hired labour belonged probably to such a type.

all housework/care for livestock incl./ and to help the men with the work in the fields.

The holdings being ^{unable to assure sufficient living the men had to look} often for some additional work as in transportation, road building, timber cutting, leaving an unusually large share in agricultural work for their womenfolk. Or, if the jobs for women were easier to get the women had to add such an additional work to their domestic liabilities.

The small trading in vegetables, dairy products, poultry etc. was often exercised by women of this class. It involved a lot of hard work with rather limited profits.

The economic position of women in this class was by no means easy. They had to do usually several jobs besides their housework, gaining very little. The consolation for the housewife was that she was on her own.

3 Medium holdings

The number of this kind of holdings can be estimated at about one million, circa 3 million of women living on them. The domestic tasks absorbed the agricultural women entirely, although it was possible to meet the more enterprising women taking part in trading. This type of holding represented a typical division of labour between men and women, these latter having assigned to the care of livestock /horses excepted/ and poultry plus the auxiliary field work as weeding, etc.

4 Bigger holdings They comprised circa 200 thous. holdings and

about 600 thousands women./

On a bigger holdings the women had to divide their functions between them. Usually, the housewife had to concentrate on house-

work and some help with more numerous poultry and livestock, the daughters or sisters being busy with care of livestock and auxiliary field work.

5. Estates, i.e. holdings of more than 50ha /120 acres/ area.

This group was very heterogenous with 150 acres and on a holding of 3000 acres. But one feature was common. As a rule the owner had to exercise the functions of a manager with the help of his wife. The manual work was to be carried out by hired labour. The owner and his family were able if they cared to assume in many cases the attitude of a leisured capitalist, although probably this was rather risky. The economic conditions of agriculture being far from stable, even rich owners had to take intense care in the cultivation and management of their properties. But there was a possibility for the women of family to become a lady of leisure or to study or to take part in the management, where the administrative skill and genius of organisation were mostly needed. Numerically, notwithstanding opinions of many foreign novels and many foreign economists the class of large owners was not strong and the average of an estate rather moderate. There were some 15 thousands of holdings of area more than 50ha /120 acres/ occupying totally 4.6 mill. ha / 11 mill. acres/ of the land utilized for agriculture. Thus, the average size of an estate amounted to 314 ha /770 acres/. The owners and their families numbered less than 60 thousands.

§2. Manufacturing industries.

The analysis of women, gainfully occupied in manufacturing

industries, is also a task involving considerable difficulties, and calling for greater care in handling the statistical data. The chief difficulty is caused by the structural peculiarity of Poland's industries and resulting from it incompleteness of statistical records. There are accurate and carefully compiled statistical data for medium and large industries. But the situation becomes less clear while looking into quite a considerable group of small enterprises and handicrafts. These two groups must be therefore treated separately.

First the group of large and medium scale manufacturing industries will be discussed.

The age composition of male and female workers in this group is illustrated by the data of the following table :

Table 37.

Workers employed in the large and medium scale manufacturing industries of Poland according to age /1934/-----

	I9 and less	Percentage of workers aged					median age
		20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over	
Men	6.8	32.0	29.8	17.2	9.8	4.4	33.3
Women	7.4	45.0	24.9	14.6	6.2	1.9	29.4
Total	7.0	36.5	28.1	16.3	8.6	3.5	32.0

There was a usual tendency of ^{decr}creasing numbers of older age groups, the median age of female workers being lower than that of men for circa 4 years.

The share of women in particular branches is to be found in table 38. The absolute numbers for 1937 were added in order to

illustrate the proper importance of given branch.

Table 38.

Men, women and juveniles on the pay-rolls of the large and
----- medium scale industries /1931 and 1937/.-----

Industries	1931			1937			1937 women employ- ed in thous.
	men	women %	juven.	men	women %	juvenil.	
Mnfg. industr.	61.2	32.8	6.1	63.7	33.1	3.2	205
Stone, glass ceramic	71.7	18.4	9.9	75.7	19.1	5.2	14.1
Metal	77.7	8.9	13.4	81.6	10.6	7.8	18.1
Electrotech.	157.8	31.1	11.1	57.8	36.9	5.2	5.7
Chemical	68.6	28.5	2.9	69.3	29.6	1.1	13.2
Textile	43.5	53.5	3.0	45.0	53.6	1.4	82.0
Paper	58.1	36.7	5.2	61.2	36.1	2.7	5.9
Leather	79.2	17.4	3.4	80.9	15.0	4.1	1.1
Timber	81.7	12.0	6.3	84.8	12.8	2.4	8.0
Foodstuff	61.6	36.6	2.3	61.2	37.5	1.3	23.5
Clothing	29.2	62.4	8.4	37.2	59.4	3.4	8.5
Building	92.1	2.7	5.2	96.8	1.6	1.6	4.7
Printing & allied	55.9	31.4	12.7	61.2	32.0	6.8	4.0

The female labour was concentrated chiefly in clothing and textile industries, where it had a majority. Next to these branches come foodstuff, electrotechnical paper printing and chemical industries. Leather and ceramic branches are medium in respect to the participation of female labour, while other branches as metal, timber and building are showing a relatively small percentage of women. Numerically most important were textile and food-

stuffs branches accounting for about 50% of the total female labour in this group.

But it is clear that these data concern only a part of "industrial" women. E.g. the clothing industry which had to produce for the needs of all the country, as the imports were negligible, and even for exports had only some fifteen thousands workers. In reality there were whole towns of tailors and tailoresses producing ready made suits and dresses.

Therefore many conclusions must be limited in their value as concerning only larger enterprises. The final statement must be postponed till the efforts of accounting for the distribution of women working in smaller workshops or as homeworkers.

The problem of wages is illustrated by the table 39.

The wages of women amounted on average to 70% of the men's earnings. The smallest difference was in foodstuff industry where the average for both sexes were almost equal, the largest - in printing. But it is necessary to emphasise that the rates were not established distinctly by sex, but rather by kind of job. The women being usually occupied in less skilled jobs were paid smaller earnings. This is illustrated not only by the example of foodstuff industry, where there were relatively few skilled jobs of technical character, but also by the average earnings of juveniles. It is interesting to note that the average earnings of girls were higher than those of boys almost in all branches of industry.

As it was mentioned before the above data do not comprise

Average earnings of manual workers in the large and medium scale manufacturing industries of Poland.

A. Average earnings in zlotys per hour.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Total.....1934	0.71	0.50	0.21	0.27
1935	0.70	0.50	0.21	0.25
1936	0.71	0.50	0.21	0.25
Stone, glass & ceramic	0.53	0.28	0.23	0.13
Metal	0.83	0.41	0.19	0.24
Electrotechnical	0.89	0.48	0.23	0.30
Chemical	0.89	0.46	0.27	0.29
Textile	0.78	0.57	0.36	0.37
Paper	0.78	0.40	0.26	0.22
Leather	0.83	0.44	0.26	0.26
Timber	0.40	0.27	0.18	0.19
Foodstuff	0.66	0.61	0.21	0.20
Clothing	0.72	0.39	0.27	0.20
Building	0.74	0.30	0.24	0.27
Printing & allied	1.29	0.43	0.19	0.18

B. Percentage of workpeople whose weekly earnings in zlotys/

amounted to:

less than 10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80 and over
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<u>1936</u>								
Males	3.2	21.8	26.1	19.2	10.7	5.8	3.5	2.0
Females	12.8	40.9	33.4	8.8	2.6	0.9	0.5	0.1
<u>1938</u>								
Males	6.3	19.8	23.0	20.4	12.4	7.4	4.5	2.5
Females	11.7	35.1	34.2	13.6	3.6	1.3	0.3	0.1

all industrial workers. There are vast numbers of them in smaller enterprises or working as home workers. The importance of this problem is illustrated by the fact that some 300-400 thousands of handicraft licences were issued yearly while the small industrial establishments / VIII category/ attained number of circa 200 thousands in comparison with 25 000 of larger enterprises. I/ As a basis for the estimates the census of 1931 is to be adopted. The census has taken into account all active population. For the following years there were, as a rule, available the data for workers in larger enterprises.

The table 40 contains the data of 1931 census in respect to the manufacturing industries.

These data are showing clearly that the larger enterprises formed only one of the three principal categories of female industrial labour. They accounted for almost one third of women gainfully occupied in manufacturing industries, the other third working in smaller enterprises, while the independent women formed almost one fourth of the total.

The situation in particular branches varied widely. For instance, the most important female branches of textile and clothing industries showed a very large difference. In the textile industry 60% of the total number of gainfully occupied women were absorbed by larger enterprises, while in the clothing industry these latter occupied only some nine thousands of female workers from the total number of 180 thousands.

I/Industrial establishments employing from 2 to 4 workers were obliged to secure industrial licences of category VIII up to 1931 inclusive, and since 1932 industrial establishments employing from 1 to 4 workers, incl. proprietors and the members of their families

Table 40.

Women gainfully occupied in manufacturing industries of Poland
/Census of 1931/

	A. Number of women/thous./				5. Workers in larger enterpr.	6. % of 5. in resp. to 1.
	1. Total	2. Inde- pendent	3. Helping members of family	4. Hired labour		
Total	513	118	42	353	165	32 % - -
Glass, stone & ceramic ind.	11	0.3	0.4	10.2	9	75
Metal ind.	20	1.0	2.0	17	7.2	36
Chemical ind.	16	0.3	0.4	15.2	9	56
Textile ind.	114.6	4.5	2.1	108	68	60
Paper ind.	6.2	0.2	0.2	5.8	4.5	75
Leather	3.2	0.6	0.5	2.1	0.7	22
Clothing	179	102.8	13.6	63	8.5	5
Foodstuff	50	5.2	18.8	25.7	21	42
Building	6.4	0.6	0.2	4.3	4.	80
Printing & allied	7.8	0.8	0.5	6.4	4	50

B. Percentages of independent and workers in larger enterprises.

	% of independent in respect to the total number	% of workers in lar ger enterpr. in res- pect to the hired labour.
Total: I. Males	35	23.5
2. Females	23	47
Stone, glass & ceramic: I. Males	8.5	48
2. Females	3.0	80
Metal ind. I. Males	25	39
2. Females	5	42
Chemical ind. I. Males	7	71
2. Females	1.8	60
Textile ind. I. Males	9.2	43
2. Females	2.5	63
Paper ind. I. Males	8.5	64
2. Females	3.2	78
Leather ind. I. Males	38	19
2. Females	19	33
Timber ind. I. Males	35	21
2. Females	10	58
Foodstuff I. Males	31	22
2. Females	10.5	82
Clothing I. Males	55	3
2. Females	57	13.5
Building I. Males	38	10
2. Females	9	95
Printing & allied I. Males	25	33
2. Females	10	62

The comparison of percentages of independent group and that of the workers occupied in larger enterprises for both sexes shows considerable differences.

The group of independent of male sex formed about one third of the total number of occupied males, while the corresponding female group amounted to one fourth of female labour. Incidentally this percentage was influenced strongly by the clothing industry, what was particularly true for the female workers.

The percentage of workers of larger enterprises in respect to the total number of hired labour differed to a large extent for both sexes.

For the men it amounted to less than one fourth, while to the women it attained almost one half.

There were fluctuations in particular branches, but in all branches with the exception of the chemical industry this percentage was much higher for women than for men.

§ 3. Domestic service.

The domestic service class is composed almost exclusively from women. ^{Few} ^{-servants} Some men disappear in the mass of four hundred thousand female servants. This is in accordance with every-day observations of the Polish society as the men-servants were almost unknown being kept by rich households /mostly in the country/, which were not numerous. But the total number of maid-servants seems too small to anyone accustomed with the Polish conditions of home life. Even some comparatively poor homes have been able to keep maid-servants. Among the middle classes it was the rule.

There are several explanations. First of all - that the statistical records do not comprise all domestic help. They comprise probably most of maid-servants with board and lodging, but a large number of charwomen would be omitted. Naturally the charwomen, making their living from this work were insured and therefore easily numbered. But there was a large group of part-time charwomen, chiefly wives of the workers, who escaped in this way any registration. Many of them were giving a seasonal, but nevertheless much appreciated help with big cleaning, carpet beating, or washing. The other explanation, perhaps of more importance, is concerned with the distribution of servants. Few houses could afford to keep more than one servant. As a rule ^{the housewife} had to give a hand in the house work, particularly in larger families. In this way the domestic help was far more widespread than one may think looking strictly at the statistical data.

Finally it is necessary to bear in mind that only a part of the population was involved. The smaller agricultural holders amounting to more than 50% of population were not taken into account by statistics. Many of them were not able to afford any maid-servant in proper meaning of this word. If any such household had a maid, she was included ~~xxxxxx~~ in the agricultural work team, as her duties usually comprised besides the domestic heavier work, the help in the care for livestock and poultry.

All these additional factors taken into account the number of maid-servants shown by the statistics has a quite different meaning.

The recruiting sources and the conditions of work must now be considered.

The maid-servants were chiefly recruiting from the country girls. There was steady migration of country girls, flowing to the towns and taking up domestic service as the factory work was more difficult to obtain, the town girls ~~eager~~ being eager for it and the employer showing often preference for them. The migration was partly temporary. Many of the maid-servants, after making some savings returned to their native village. These savings were to be their dowry, as most frequently they were engaged to be married and expect in a few years to earn money sufficient for furnishing a home of their own. Many of them settled in the town for ~~good~~ ^{ever} by marrying town man or taking some work in industry or commerce. Relatively few grew older keeping the occupation of domestic service. In such cases they stayed mostly in the same household becoming often almost members of family.

The condition of work differed widely as to the wages, quality of board and lodging and the general amount of work. They depended mostly on the general financial situation of the employer. A well-to-do employer was able to assure better lodging and higher wages, but at the same time he wanted to get better qualified help. Thus, usually the country girl-freshers went to the lower paid jobs rising slowly after acquiring the necessary practical knowledge. The wages varied also largely in dependence of the regions. In bigger towns, as a rule the wages were higher, on average the domestic servant for all purposes was drawing in Warsaw

I/
monthly wages fluctuating in dependence on the qualification and the financial situation of the employer - between 25 - 50zł. /Ł I - 2/ plus board and lodgings. The wages of cooks etc. were usually higher mounting to 60 - 80zł. /Ł 2/10 - 3/. Financially, the service was attractive, while comparing the level of wages in industrial and commercial occupations. The wages had a constant tendency to increase.

The duties of a maid-servant varied in dependence of household. In a poorer household the maid had to do all heavier work, but was helped by the housewife. If one maid was kept she had an outside help for heavier work, ~~but was helped by the housewife~~ such as washing, carpet beating, seasonal cleaning etc.

The domestic servants were insured for health, unemployment and retiring pensions under the general social insurances schemes introduced after the recovery of independence. They had to pay together with their employers monthly rates varying in dependence of classes of wages. But as a rule the employers paid all rates.

Before 1918 the servants were bound, particularly under the Russian regime, to keep a service book in which the employers had to record the dates of beginning and end of employment as well as to give character. These books were abolished by Polish authorities. The employers were authorised and obliged to certify the dates of beginning and end of employment, while the certificates of giving character were only voluntary and it was forbidden to put in them any remarks describing the servant in a

I/There was a custom to pay monthly wages and to release maids on monthly notice, although legally 14 day notice sufficient.

negative way.

The status of a domestic servant was therefore very considerably improved after 1916.

The influx of candidates from the country was on the level surpassing the demand /although this concerned only the unexperienced ^{servants} demand/. It was mitigated by the custom of looking in advance for some place on behalf of the newcomers by their friends from the native village, who were working in the town.

Table 41.

Domestic service according to 1931 census /agricultural occupations excluded/. In thousands. /-----

	Total	Males	Females
Total	416.3	17.3	399
With board & lodging	367	12.8	354

There were several unions of domestic servants, chiefly of a christian-democratic character, some of them comparatively rich. Their principal aim was to provide shelter and food during unemployment periods and in old age.

§ 4. Commerce and insurance.

This class of occupation provided an important outlet for female labour. The table 42 contains some general data in this respect. A most striking feature of these figures is the very high percentage of independents, mostly shopkeepers and traders.

The existence of a very numerous class of small agricultural holders suggest that there were very many pedlars and wandering traders. To some extent this was true, because many agricultural housewives had a kind of part-time job in selling products of their and their neighbours' holdings. But this was done out

side the statistical records, which based upon the traders with the trade as chief occupation.

Table 42.

Commerce and insurance occupational class according to the
-----1921--and--- 1931 censuses-----

/ in thous. and %/.						
1921 census	total number	independent	salaried workers	wage earners	helping members of family	undefined
Males	375	220	33	38	24	0.5
Females	143	65	17	33	28	0.3
% of females in respect to their number in a class	100	69.4	8.7	15.4	6.5	0.0
% of females	100	45.2	12.0	23.0	19.6	0.2
1931 census						
Males	517	305	38	174	60	114
Females	297	121	85	92	26	66
% of males in respect to their number in a class	100	59.0	7.4	33.6	11.6	22.0
% of femal. in respect to their number	100	41.0	28.6	30.4	8.7	22.5

The pedlars and similar types of traders have entered only in a very limited part to the statistics, the licences obtained for this category being below 10 thousands.

Thus, there were very many businesses, conducted by women. They were rather small, chiefly one-person retail businesses as the hired labour was less numerous than the number of independent traders. The helping members of family were surprisingly few in numbers. The corresponding numbers were in reality larger, as it is generally known that most of the traders were helped by their

wives and children. Usually a wife or daughter exercised the functions of a cashier, while other members of the family were busy as shop assistants, messengers, etc.

While comparing the inter censal period of 1921-1931 it is possible to guess that the number of female shopkeepers increased by almost 100%. Their relations to the male traders was also improved as their percentage in total numbers rose from 23% to almost 30%. This proportion is not so bad if one takes into account the percentage of women in hired labour, which amounted to 35% in 1921 and 34% in 1931.

The women shopkeepers were particularly numerous in some branches which suited them the best. Thus, for instance, most of the shops in confections, haberdashery, women's linen and clothing, millinery were in female hands. Moreover a very high percentage of shops dealing with foodstuffs^{I/} but not necessarily groceries/ ~~as~~ dairies, baker shops were also owned by women. But the women as traders were limited practically to the retail trade, wholesale trade still being carried on by men.

The hired labour i.e. shop-assistants had very varying conditions of work and salaries or wages. There was a very intricate division between the shop assistants treated as physical workers and those enjoying the privilege of brain-workers i.e. salaried workers. It depended chiefly on the character of work. The level of salaries and wages varied in dependence of the branches and

I/ There was a different commercial specialisation than in Britain. Many Polish foodstuff shops did not correspond to groceries as they usually had bread and milk, their range of foodstuffs being limited. The grocers were as a rule wine and spirit merchants.

kind of job, but not of sex. There were branches in which the women shop assistants were preferred or even only they were accepted, as in confectioners and all branches with articles for women. In other as e.g. the motor car salons, or men's clothing the women shop assistants were hardly used.

§ 5. Professional occupations.

The statistical analysis of professional occupations is made difficult by the lack of such a separate occupational class. It is necessary therefore to look under several other headings and by deduction with the help of the general knowledge of social relations in Poland to bring out the corresponding data.

The following occupations have to be taken into account as forming the bulk of professions : legal profession, medical profession, teaching, literature, journalism. The professional engineer in the British meaning were non-existent in Poland.

I. Legal profession.

The British division into solicitors and barristers was unknown in Poland. All advocates were called to the Bar and they could exercise the functions of legal advisers, helping in the contracts, etc. But their role as solicitors was practically limited to the legal advice.

In order to be called to the bar it was necessary to obtain a L.L.B. degree, then to work as advocate substitute in the office of an advocate under the supervision of the advocates' Chamber and after five years to pass a rather difficult examination. So qualified candidate had to be inscribed on the list of barri-

sters at a given Court of Appeal.

After 1918 the women were accepted on equal footing with men to the profession of advocates. They had to fight against the popular disbelief in female lawyers. Slowly they were making progress. In 1931 there were almost 100 women advocates for circa 5000 of total number. But it is necessary to remember that practically women could be called to the bar only from 1928 as at this date the first pioneers were able to qualify/four years of university studies and five years of preactice/ with very few exceptions of women, who got their degrees in foreign universities in pre-war time. The number of women advocates tended to increase quickly in last years.

^{I/}The career in Courts was also open to the women. There was no obstacle to a woman to become a judge or public prosecutor. But in practice, the society was not yet sufficiently accustomed to this idea and there were only a few women-judges, principally in juvenile courts, although some of them were judging even civil law cases.

Medical profession.

Generally speaking, in the class of medical professions and hygiene the number of women was larger than that of men, their percentage amounting to 55%. The nursing influenced decisively this percentage.

There are three groups to be discussed separately : 1/Physicians and surgeons, 2/nursing and midwifery, 3/dispensing chemists

1/ One would bear in mind that in Poland the courts were organised on usual continental lines, courts of all instances being composed from professional judges.

and laboratories of medical analyses.

I. Physicians and surgeons, general practitioners etc.

In 1931 there were circa 8000 medical practitioners, of whom nearly two and half thousands were women. This number gives a very considerable percentage of women attaining 29%.

Thus, nearly one third of the medical practitioners belonged to female sex. This strong percentage can be explained by twofold influences. First of all women in medical professions were established from pre-war time^{I/} and have proved to the public their skill. Considerable part taken by them in social activities among poorer classes, often of unofficial character, helped them to gain confidence too. Secondly, the Polish women were showing a preference for women-doctors, particularly in cases of female ailments, thus creating an economic basis for their maintenance.

2. Nursing and midwifery.

This branch of the medical profession was almost exclusively in the hands of women with few exceptions of male nurses, specially in mental hospitals for men. During the inter-war period a considerable effort was done to assure the proper training and professional level of nurses. A State school for nurses was established, the pupils with leaving certificate, having to undergo two years training. There were in 1931 some twenty thousands women working in hospitals, etc and more over several thousands working independently.

I/E.g. At 13 International Congress on Health and Demography/ Brussels 1903/ a Polish doctor Mme Joteyko laid stress on the need for a medical examination prior to the choice of an employment, being thus a pioneer in this field.

3. Dispensing chemists and laboratories for medical analyses.

This occupation accessible to women after 1918 became very popular gaining in popularity among women every year. In 1931 there were almost 50% women / some three thousands / in the total number in this profession. Almost 20% of owners of laboratories and dispensing chemists's shops were women too.

4. Teaching.

The standards of qualification for teaching in schools were set up by the State regulations. There were no restrictions of a sex character. The teaching profession was chiefly of a public character as the private schools were not numerous. This can be illustrated by the fact that only 3% of children were in private primary schools. In the secondary education the private schools for girls were more numerous ^{or} almost 60% of ^{girls} pupils attended private schools, the corresponding percentage for boys being less than 25%. So, the percentage of women-teachers, working in the private schools was proportionately higher, than that of men. Usually the women did not teach in boys' secondary schools, while in the girls schools the women teachers were preferred. As a rule there was a headmistress in a girls' schools.

The private tutors, shown by statistics as independent were not numerous, their number amounting to some 8 thousands.

5. Literature and journalism.

There were no restrictions in respect to the women in these occupations. The percentage of women in statistical heading "press-publishers" shows that there were about 25% women in total

I/
number of occupied. This percentage was the same for independent.

§ 6. Civil Service and other branches of Public Administration
and salaried workers /teachers included. %.

The abolition of any sex disqualification at the recovery of independence has affected also the conditions in Polish Civil Service and all branches of Public Administration, Local Authorities inclusive.

In order to have a ~~proper~~ correct perspective of the problem it is necessary to emphasise that there were several separate branches and State enterprises, each having their own ^{status} character. For instance, the Polish Post, telegraph and Telephone Company, or Polish State Railways were separate State enterprises with their own Statutes their own scales of salaries system of grades, entrance qualifications, promotion systems etc.

The teachers working in the State schools and forming more than four fifths of the total number of teachers were under the Board of Education. They had too their own service regulation and scales of salaries. But almost all these branches were organised on the same basis. So, the scales of salaries, may have different names and different graduation, but as a whole they were fitting to the general scale of salaries for Civil Service. Certain regulations could be exclusive for a given branch or State enterprise as for instance the conventional fines for railway official, but the principles of them as admission to the service, disciplinary measures, pensions, were practically the same. Therefore, the discussion of the Civil Service conditions is valid in 90% for all branches of Public Administration.

I/See the data about women-students.

Each Department recruited the candidates for itself. There were three classes of civil servants, corresponding to the British clerical, executive and administrative class and three educational standards set for each class. The possession of an university degree was essential for the administrative class. After a paid probation period ~~off~~ 1-2 years the candidate had to pass an examination and if successful was able to become an established civil servant. A part of the personnel were on the contract for work on the same conditions as workers in private businesses.

There were no sex restrictions in admission to any branches or posts~~x~~, with the exception of the Army and Police Corps. In this latter there were special detachments of female police. ^{I/}

A woman -candidate was accepted on probation and then if she passed successfully the examinations prescribed for a given class she was given the same grade as a man candidate and the same salary. But difficulties arose in the following course of the career. Men were occupying practically all higher posts and as superiors were not inclined to favour women. Therefore women were promoted more slowly than men and only a few of them attained higher posts.

There was no principle of segregation: for instance, the chief establishment officer ^{2/} in the Ministry of Justice was a woman. In the coeducational schools/ chiefly State primary schools/ the head could be a woman with a mixed staff of male and female

1/ In 1931 they numbered six hundred plus some 500 police clerks.
2/ For the civil servants only.

teachers. In the Court office the chief clerk was often a woman supervising the mixed staff. Some kind of work was thought to be particularly fitting for women while other jobs were thought unsuitable. For instance the typists were almost exclusively women. the station-masters were chiefly men, but there were also a few women-stationmasters.

Thus, it can be briefly said that the women had full equal footing in theory with men in the Public Administration, but in practice they filled mostly lower and less paid posts.

According to the heading "Public Service" ^{I/} there were 49, thousand women against 245 thousand men. The data for separate classes together with the State Railways and Post Office /included in Transport and Communications/ are in the table 43.

Table 43.

Women in Public Administration /1931 census/.

	Thousands	% of women in a given class
Churches ^{I/}	14.0	37.0
Civil service	8.1	21.8 /25/ ^{2/}
Local Authorities	7.1	14.3 /18.0/
Courts and judicial administration ^{3/}	2.6	16.0/18.0/
Post Office	9.0	29.0 /62.0/
Railways	5.4	3.0 /8.5/

1/ This position concerns the nuns.

2/ The percentage figures in brackets give the percentage of women in the total number of the salaried workers in a given class.

3/ Mostly office personnel as secretaries, clerks, typists.

The percentage figures in brackets give the percentage of women in the total number of the salaried workers in a given class. Generally the women were mostly in the salaried personnel class. This is particularly well illustrated by the example of the Post Office where women almost exclusively worked in the offices. Incidentally the Post Office had also the largest percentage of female labour in its office staff.

In respect to teachers women were in a clear majority. In 1937/1938 there were 41,239 female teachers in the State primary schools out of some 77 thousand i.e. 54% of the total.

The conditions of work of the women employed in the Public Administration and the character of the employment corresponded to a large extent to those of women-salaried workers^{I/} in private enterprises. Because of this affinity it seems advisable to discuss now this section of working women.

The bulk of salaried workers were compulsorily insured for retiring pensions. Thus, the data of the Social Insurance Institute can illustrate the problem with a very high degree of accuracy.

The table 44 contains data about monthly earnings and age composition of the salaried workers.

The age composition shows usual predominance of younger groups of age in female labour with corresponding sharper drop in older groups.

I/. An explanation of this term is to be found in the chapter about legal position.

The average monthly earnings of females were as a rule lower than those of men. The difference was rising with the groups of age. It is interesting to note that the maximum average earnings were those of 50-54 age group for men and 40-44 for women.

The second part of the table is dealing with the division of all salaried workers into classes of earnings. While comparing the percentages of corresponding classes of males and females it is possible to notice, that more than the half of women were in the lowest two of six classes. There were only one third of men in these classes. The third class /medium/ was almost balanced. The discrepancy between male and female workers was more and more marked with each higher class. The general situation is well characterised by the medians of earnings of males and females. These medians are as 225:152.

The next table concerns the average monthly earnings of salaried workers in dependence of their education, both according to the level of education and division of work.

There is usual general difference in disfavour of women. The average earnings of women vary in dependence of their educational standards. The fluctuations mostly correspond to those in men's earnings, but there is always a gap between averages. Thus, the education helped women to get better paid jobs, but in a far smaller degree than men. The best illustration is perhaps to be found in comparing the average earnings of salaried workers with primary education and those with university degrees. The men's averages for the latter were more than twice as

Table 44.

Monthly earnings of salaried workers insured for retiring pensions in Poland in the Social Insurance Institute./1934/.

A. Average earnings by age groups.

Age groups	Males		Females		%
	% of the total number of insured males	average earnings in zł.	% of the total number of insured females	average earnings in zł.	
15I- 19	1.6	80.4	3.3	75.3	
20 - 24	10.5	133.2	25.2	116.4	
25 - 29	20.7	211.1	26.7	166.1	-
30 - 34	18.9	295.8	18.4	210.0	y
35 - 39	15.1	332.6	11.5	235.1	he
40 -44	11.3	372.6	6.3	252.4	r-
45 - 49	8.6	383.7	4.2	245.6	-
50 - 54	6.1	390.7	2.3	246.0	r-
55 - 59	4.2	383.0	1.4	240.1	-
60 - 64	2.2	368.9	0.6	231.8	
65&over	0.3	264.5	0.1	211.2	

B. Percentage of salaried workers whose monthly earnings amounted to:

	under 120	120 - 180	180 - 360	360 - 480	480 - 720	720& over	Median salary
<u>Males</u>	20.3	18.1	34.0	10.3	11.0	6.3	225
Aged 24&less	54.4	28.9	15.6	0.7	0.3	0.1	112
" 25 - 39	16.8	20.2	40.2	10.5	8.9	3.4	223
" 40 &over	12.9	10.5	30.8	13.6	18.6	13.6	333
<u>Females</u>	36.1	26.0	31.2	4.3	2.0	0.4	152
Aged 24&less	63.3	25.5	10.9	0.2	0.1	0.0	97
" 25 - 39	26.7	27.7	38.6	4.9	1.9	0.2	170
" 40&over	19.3	20.4	42.2	10.1	6.4	1.6	213

Table 45.

Level of education division of work	1930		1933	
	males	females	males	females
	average monthly earnings in zł.			
Total	396	251	344	214
According to level of education				
Primary.....	294	202	250	173
General secondary unfin.	325	234	274	205
" " completed...	405	254	315	217
Vocational, lower level..	358	231	310	229
" ; secondary level.	379	233	313	197
Of which: commercial	372	211	334	182
technical.	440	216	352	179
According to divisions of work				
Agriculture	321	264	276	181
Industry	466	270	440	245
Commodity trade.....	360	218	326	186
Banking etc	436	270	408	258
Communication & transp..	347	258	281	224
Health service.....	416	250	375	217
Schooling & education...	352	265	268	216
I/				
State and local-govt. administration.....	321	235	258	188

I/ Excluding permanent employees.

that high as/for the primary education/580 and 250 correspondingly/. For women difference was far less marked amounting to some 50% /284 and 173/. Incidentally in the primary education group the average female earnings amounted to 61% of the male's while in the highest group they were only up to 50%.

These data confirm the everyday observation about women occupying lower and less paid posts.

§ 7. The educational problem.

Poland had to build up her educational system from the modest heritage left by the occupying Powers which did not show any particular care for the education of the Polish nation. Under the Russian regime the administration took even the strong counter-measures against the educational efforts of the society, illiteracy seeming to be the best shield for the Tzarist regime. Secondary and higher education were also discouraged under the Russian and German regimes.

After the recovery of independence, compulsory primary education was introduced /up to age of 14/ for both sexes. The primary schools were free and coeducational, the State providing teachers, the Local Authorities - the school buildings.

Secondary schools were owned by the State, the Local Authorities or were private. Few of them were coeducational. Just a few years before the outbreak of the present war an essential reform of the secondary education took place. Secondary schools were divided into two parts: I/ the secondary school ending for a pupil of 16 with lower leaving certificate giving practically all privileges of the former certificates without entrance to

the universities; 2/ the lyceum with two years course with the ~~the~~ Higher leaving certificate which authorised entrance to University studies in a given department or group of departments. I/

The general idea was to foster the vocational and specialised education as many secondary schools, lyceums inclusive, were adapted to it.

There were no differences in the standards and curriculums between the private and State schools as these former were under the supervision of the Board of Education. The same equality of standards existed in the schools for boys and girls. But as the coeducational schools were not numerous, the education of girls was bound to be affected by the number of schools set up for girls as well as by their types and character. This was particularly important in respect to the vocational schools. The importance of this question is illustrated by the table 46.

Table 46.

The percentage of girls in the secondary education of Poland
-----/1937 - 1938/-----

I. Percentage of girls in different types of schools.

% of girls in the total number of pupils:	State owned schools	Self-Government schools	Private schools	All
A. In general secondary schools	32.0	46.0	63.0	43.5
B. In lyceums	28.2	42.0	55.5	39.6
C. In vocational schools /trade/	35.0	55.0	53.0	47.5

I/If not all subjects demanded by a given University department were included in the leaving certificate a candidate was bound to pass an additional examination.

II. Percentage of boys and girls in particular departments of
-----vocational schools.-----

	Boys	Girls
1. Agriculture	2.8	0.5
2. Industry and handicraft	49.0	41.3
3. Commerce and administration	36.8	45.5
4. Transport and communications	10.1	0.2
5. Land surveying, melioration	1.1	0.0
6. Housewifery, personal service	0.2	9.8
7. Health service	-	2.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The State provided smaller facilities for the girls in the general secondary education than for the boys, but the need for such an education was felt strongly by the society, as it was willing to provide for the girls far more expensive private secondary schools. Incidentally, the State secondary schools had the best reputation as concerns the educational standard. The boarding schools were very few and practically without great importance in the educational system.

In respect to the vocational schools the position of girls was slightly better. Moreover, the Local Authorities stepped in to a greater extent. As a whole, the number of girls-pupils in vocational schools was almost equal to that of boys.

The distribution of pupils among the particular departments of vocational schools shows rather typical differences. The bulk of pupils of both sexes was concentrated in industrial and commercial schools, boys showing preponderance in industry, girls

in commerce, while the number of girls in the transport section was almost negligible, the same being true for boys in personal service, domestic science and health service sections.

Higher education i.e. University training problem is illustrated by the table 47.

This table gives the number of female students, its distri-

Table 47.

Women - University students in 1935 - 1938 in Poland.

I. Total number of students.

A. Full time students:	1935/1936	1936/1937	1937/38
Men	33 961	34 490	33 527
Women	12 470	12 925	13 296
% of women in the total	26.9	27.2	28.2
B. Newcomers:			
Men	9 673	10 268	10 120
Women	3 627	4 218	4 504
% of women in the total	27.2	29.1	31.0

II. Number of women-students in particular departments.

	Men	Women	% of women
Medicine	3 029	843	21.9
Dentistry	156	325	68.0
Pure science	2 252	2 192	49.5
Agriculture	1 835	623	25.6
Engineering, architecture, chemistry, mining	5 165	403	7.4
Philosophy /Faculty of Arts/	5 102	6 169	55.0
Humanistic dep./Faculty of Arts	2 859	3 977	58.0

bution among various departments together with the data for men for the sake of comparison.

The first point to notice concerns the total number of female students: it was smaller than that of male students, but the percentage of women was quite considerable. Moreover, it showed a tendency to increase. Incidentally, the number of male students was in the decrease during the last few years before the war, while it was quite the reverse case for women.

The percentage distribution of women-students among the departments reflects to a large extent the occupational distribution. The faculties training future teachers /pure science, arts/ show a majority of women, the technical departments having a smallest percentage of women.

There are still two interesting phenomena. First is the preponderance of women in dentistry. It seems justified to state that women were most successful in their invasion in respect to this department. They had a lasting majority of more than two thirds. The second - is the increase of women studying architecture. In 1937/1938 for the total number of 126 newcomers 39 were women i.e. 31 % which seems an unusually high percentage for a technical department.

As a whole it seems justified to state that women were not particularly handicapped in Poland's educational system.

• Chapter XI . The legal position of working women

The recovery of independence made possible for the Polish society to carry out the legal reforms which were thought to fit the general social opinions.

Some of the first reforms as it was mentioned before concerned the legal status of Polish women. First the temporary constitutional provisions of 1919, then the Polish Constitution of 1921 accepted the principle of rights of women fully equal to those of men.
I/

Naturally, the introduction of such a principle implied the necessity of issuing many Acts and orders regulating particular questions.

In 1921 practically most of discriminating provisions in respect of women in ~~private~~ civil law were abolished, any more important discriminations in the laws of occupying Powers have disappeared.

Thus, in laws of marriage and divorce as well as in those concerning property relations the women were put on equal footing with men. There were a few exceptions left, because the five systems of civil laws of occupying States were to be welded into a new one, a tremendous work to be undertaken by a special body, so-called Codification Committee.

I/ Art. 12 stated, that the voting rights has any Polish citizen without regard to sex, after coming to the age of 21.

Art. 96 provided that all citizens are equal before the law.

The second Constitution of 1935 has stated shortly: "The Polish State is the common wealth of all its citizens", repeating in art. 33 that the voting rights have citizens irrespective of sex.

There were no differences between the single women and men in respect to married women, they had full rights to dispose of their property if acquired or earned by them after the marriage. The property owned by them in the moment of concluding marriage had to be under the management of a husband who had usufruct of it, if otherwise not stated. But the wife had rights to conclude pre-marriage contract depriving the husband of any privileges and influence in respect to her property. The alimony and inheritance laws accepted as a rule the expression of a spouse, without discerning between husband and wife.

Thus it may be said, that generally women had full equality in respect to political and civil rights.

As it concerns their rights to work and their legal position while in work women enjoyed the same rights as men with some additional provisions /mostly so-called protective legislation/ in their favour.

In order to make easier the description of women's legal position in their economic activities one can carry out the following division : 1/professions, 2/public services, 3/salaried workers, 4/manual workers.

1/. Professions.

Very little can be said on this point as there were discriminatory regulations in any profession against women. Legally all professions were open to them after 1918.

2/. Public Services.

Little can be added about the legal regulations concerning

the recruitment, promotions and salaries of the Civil Service. ~~There~~ There were no legal discriminations against women-civil servants. The Act of 17 Febr. 1922 dealing with the Civil Service placed no restriction on the admission and promotion of women. Admission of women to judicial appointment /which is strictly speaking outside the Civil Service sphere /was explicitly established by the Law of 6 Febr. 1928 concerning the organisation of the law courts.

Conditions of admission and promotions were also the same for both sexes in the administration of the public enterprises, as State Railways, Post Office, State monopolies, State banks etc.

There was no segregation principle and there was only one scale of salaries with no sex distinctions. The Official Salaries Act of Dec. 28, 1933 confirmed this principle fixing the salaries with reference to grades only.

The married women were permitted to work in public services. In December 1935 the Government prepared a decree concerning unemployment with a view more especially to the dismissal of married women-officials. The Women's Associations lodged protests with the Government against the proposed restrictions on the rights of married woman and the decree was not promulgated. The Civil Service Pension Act of 1923 makes no distinction between the sexes as regards the right to individual pensions. The Act of 17 Febr. 1922 provided that leave taken owing to confinement should be treated as legitimate leave of absence, no person absent on such grounds should be penalised in respect either

of pay or of any other right or privilege. The length of maternity leave was fixed as for other female workers /fixed by the Act of 2 July 1921/ to six weeks before and six weeks after the confinement. The woman on such a leave was drawing a full salary.

3/. Salaried workers.

It is one of the peculiarities of Poland's legal system that there was introduced by order a kind of obligatory labour contract. The conditions of such a contract were laid down separately in two Acts, one for salaried workers i.e. the non-manual or brain workers, the second for manual workers. These Acts created a legal framework for all contracts and no one contract could include any conditions less profitable for the employee. Such conditions were invalid. Such a legal enforcement of minimum Labour Contract was perhaps caused by the relatively weakness of Trade Unions whose action was very restricted before 1918 and by the tendency to equalise the conditions of work.

The Decree of the President of the Republic of March 28th, 1928, relating to a contract for the employment of intellectual workers, regulated the conditions of work of all non-manual workers without any sex distinction. The period of notice was three months to date from the first day of the following month. The salaries were to be on monthly rates, paid in cash. After one year of work the non-manual worker was entitled to one month leave with pay. No notice could be given during holidays with pay or a period of illness /not exceeding three months/.

All paid manual workers were insured under the Insurance for

Intellectual Workers Scheme. Payment was made over a period of 6-9 months and amounted to 25-35% of the salary with a family allowance of 10% for each dependent member of family. The contribution was 2% of salary, 40-60% of this contribution paid by the employer.

There were no sex distinctions, both in benefit and in contributions. The insurance for retiring pensions in The Social Insurance Institute was based on similar principles, the top benefit being 720 zł. per month/circa £ 7 per week/.

The sickness and Maternity Insurance scheme was common for both non-manual and manual workers with percentage principle and without sex distinction. Maternity insurance benefit consisted in free medical assistance, pre-natal clinic and maternity hospital inclusive. The female worker was getting during the confinement leave eight weeks' salary.

Manual workers.

The Decree of President of the Republic of March 28th, 1928 relating to a contract for the employment of manual workers, also did not contain any sex discrimination.

The period of notice was two weeks from the following pay day. The holidays with pay had to last 8 days after one year, 15 days after 3 years of continuous employment.

The eight-hour standard was applicable in Poland to all workers with the exception of agricultural workers. Special regulations for over-time were issued by the Factory-Inspectorate.

I/Hours of work of agricultural workers were established on the basis of agreements between their trade unions and employers' organisation in dependence of the local conditions and under the arbitration of Labour Inspectors.

There was a break of at least of one hour in every six hours of work, the work on Sundays being in principle forbidden. These general rules applied to women too.

Maternity protection

Moreover there was maternity protection mentioned under the heading of non-manual workers. Expectant mothers, especially after six months of pregnancy, were taken off certain kinds of work, for instance looking after machines in spinning etc. All factories and workshops employing 100 or more women had to possess a creche for infants and give all nursing mothers two half-hourly breaks in the working day to feed their children. These breaks were counted as part of the working day. Instead of creches there were Welfare Centres for mothers and children in many places. There, each mother received a complete layette before the birth of her child. The children were under constant care of the Centre's nurses. All the facilities were supplied free of charge.

Social Insurances.

Health insurance, unemployment insurance were on similar bases as for non-manual workers i.e. on percentage basis and without sex distinction. Under legislation in force, the State General Compulsory Accident Insurance Scheme ensured an accident pension to manual as well as non manual workers, incapacitated by industrial accident, the pension amounting up to 66% of the average earnings. In fatal cases dependents were entitled to pensions usually some 30% of the earnings of the bread winner. Contributions were solely borne by employer.

Special protective legislation for women.

Besides the provisions concerning the protection of maternity there were several other provisions, aiming to assure to the working women additional protection.

Working hours for women: The night rest period for women must amount to not less than 11 consecutive hours and enclose a period between 8 pm. and 6 am, or between 10 pm. and 8 pm.

Work forbidden for women. There is a complete ban on underground work, the carrying of heavy weights and working as dockers at port. Women are forbidden to work where they would come in contact with poisonous chemicals such as white lead, mercury, arsenic etc. The list of occupations which are not allowed to women is very extensive.

Supervision and enforcement. To safeguard the interests of women and young workers, special Labour Inspection was created. The General Inspectorate of Labour employed a woman inspector, who was the Director of this section of the Ministry of Labour/within the General Inspectorate/, entrusted with this work. Local women inspectors were actively engaged in dealing with all matters concerning women and young workers in their district and were especially responsible for supervising the enforcement of legislation regarding maternity protection and the employment of children and young persons.

Chapter XII . Summary and conclusions.

Owing to the recovery of independence in 1918 the Polish society was able at least to carry out the legal reforms implying its real opinions and social tendencies. The full emancipation of women in every respect was one of the first steps taken by Poland.

In theory there were no differences between women and men after reforms of the 1918-1921 period. But the equalisation in legal rights is a first step only in the emancipation of women. The social fabric remaining the same i.e. based on the family unit, the economic structure undergoing only slow and painful transformations, the women's chances were not particularly promising. In order to grasp the proper meaning of undergoing changes and the results achieved it is necessary to bear in mind two essential factors: First - the formation of a new State apparatus together with the economic reconstruction and unification, the second - the part played in Poland's social and economic structure by small agricultural holders, usually the most conservative section of the society. These two factors were to a large extent influencing the problem in somewhat contrary ways.

The mere fact of organising a new public administration implied the recruitment of large numbers of employees who never before were in such jobs. This circumstance favoured greatly the influx of women. Similarly many new branches of economic activity were only starting without traditional obstacles of an adapted

division into female and male jobs etc.

The social insurances schemes were to be introduced under already accepted principle of sex equality.

Thus, generally this first factor helped the women's emancipation.

It was counteracted initially by the fact that relatively few women were sufficiently prepared to profit from the newly created possibilities to work. For instance, the influx of women into different branches of public administration was considerable, but very few of them were qualified to any but auxiliary clerical work.

Thus, at the very beginning the women occupied the lowest clerical posts and in this way helped to reinforce general unwillingness of male superiors to appoint women to the higher executive posts.

The second factor - the strength of small agricultural holders was bound to influence the society at least by the numerical importance. The society ~~by~~ can not be unaffected as a whole by the way of living and social fabric of a group forming about half of its total number.

Thus, it seems advisable to look more closely into the social structure of this section of the society.

Incidentally women gainfully occupied in agriculture amounted to 41.5% of the total number and only 7% of them were hired labourers.

A small agricultural holding owned and cultivated by a family

is to be assumed as a typical form both of production and social life. The family as a social unit was therefore backed by economic form of activity. The owner of a holding was usually a man, a father of a family. The relatively small size of an average holding did not allow to develop a family into a social unit beyond father, mother and their children. Occasionally, some single grown-up brothers or sisters were working on the same holding, some solitary old relatives spending their last years on a kind of customary old age pension, not foreseen in any social insurance institute. But as a rule no more than one couple was to stay on one holding. Naturally in many cases the holdings were divided among the children. Usually the testator tried at least to leave the bulk of his property to one of the sons, who had to pay off first of all brothers then sisters.

The legal reform of a hundred years earlier introduced the equal hereditary rights for all children and both sexes. Nevertheless Polish peasants with a stubbornness usual to the peasant race ^{per} ~~per~~ insisted in keeping economic sense against legal and social conditions of life. This strong tendency to keep a holding as an economically going concern, sufficient to keep a family, resulted in customary inequality of hereditary rights between sons and daughters.

The rule of one holding for a couple caused also the division of labour between man and woman. An agricultural housewife not only was a housewife in the strict meaning of this word, but also an auxiliary agricultural worker with so many different

occupations that some malicious tongues could call her a principal worker with some help in heavy work from the part of the male. But her heavy work was to be repaid by economic independence, by feeling that she was increasing the wealth of the family. the particular esteem showed by Slav communities towards motherhood, combined with the economic importance of an agricultural housewife resulted in an assignment to a man and a woman different economic functions, their social standing having different meaning, but on average of equal importance.

But it is necessary to remember that the real agricultural structure of Poland was under constant pressure by the increase of population. The inter-war period witnessed the closing of one of the oldest and most efficient safety valves - the migration. The yearly increase of some 300.000 thousands of agricultural population tended to make the problem of over-population more and more acute. Neither the further dividing of existing holdings nor the breaking-up of larger estates could find the solution. Thus the surplus of economically unnecessary population /in given conditions/ was to lead a very difficult life on dwarf holdings, resulting from excessive division by heritage, or to leave the villages for the ~~villages~~ towns. But the industrialisation of Poland did not keep pace with the surplus formed. Nevertheless there was

1/. These estates occupying as it was pointed only 15% of arable area, were physically insufficient for even a temporary putting of the agricultural structure on a sound basis.

2/ It seems necessary to remind that during XIX century, a century of industrial development of Europe Poland divided between three regimes of Prussia, Austria and Russia was kept by purpose in the state of economic backwardness. After the recovery of independence in 1918 Poland had to wage war in its defence up to 1921 and

another important factor to be mentioned. The 1914 - 1918 war caused great human losses not only by direct war action, but also by large scale evacuations of human labour undertaken by retreating Russian armies. Many holdings owners perished leaving their womenfolk. The period after 1918 witnessed therefore a rather unusual phenomenon of numerous women - independent holding owners. About half a million of such women-farmers in comparison with the total number of some three millions of the holders has an importance even of a general character. Such a woman-farmer was in any way equal to a man.

There was constant although insufficient shifting of population from the country to the towns. Both these circumstances influenced the economic pressure in the village and forced many women to look for some work outside agriculture. Hence, the influx of women into the small trade with agricultural products. On the other hand the easiest way of emigration to the towns was by the entrance into domestic service. This outlet was open only to the young girls, who often never returned to their native villages. In both cases such women acquired an independent economic status outside the economic family unit.

As it concerns the gainfully occupied women from the non-agricultural population there were not such rather stiff limits for their economic activity.

then by her own means to carry out the reconstruction, war devastations being particularly heavy. The possibility of improving her economic structure has appeared only after 1925, interrupted in 1930 by the economic crisis, particularly prolonged for an agricultural country. The efforts of industrialisation were hampered moreover by lack of capital equipment in the country, insufficient foreign credits and barriers for exports.

The family - holding economic unit was naturally non-existent in non-agricultural population. The legal equality abolished formal obstacles. But there were several other factors, both social and economic, hampering women. The forms of production in industry were not particularly favourable. The larger and medium scale industrial enterprises were organised in the usual way and their forms did not constitute any particular obstacle. On the other hand the lack of strict Trade Unions regulations about the division of work, relatively little developed apprenticeship with other types of enterprises. The handicraft was still strong and there were strong remnants of the guild system. The members of guilds were rather conservative and unwilling to admit women as full right artisans. It is true that they had not the legal right of discrimination but they ~~had~~ were able to do so as a matter of fact. The rigid apprenticeship system helped them greatly. The inter-war period witnessed the swift decline of these organisations in importance owing to the rather small factories or workrooms in opposition to the typical handicraft unit. The social legislation changed the old guild organisation into more modern Handicraft Chambers, a far looser form, more resembling an average Commercial Chamber. Further the social legislation did its best to abolish the former system of apprenticeship by defending the interests of apprentices. Various social charges and restrictions caused that the institution of apprentices lost its former profitability to the artisans. These latter living in a free economy

I/ Incidentally, even in the past the guilds admitted women but rather exceptionally as widows or orphan daughters of their members, who left only female successors.

under the competition of modern industrial enterprises were not able to afford any educational grants and tended to reduce the number of apprentices. This was a goal of social policy and which made also easier the infiltration of this section of the labour market by women. Nevertheless the women were handicapped by the lack of mechanical appliances and division of labour in such old-fashioned units of production.

The small enterprises were more favourable lacking the conservative rigidity of handicraft and looking for the cheapest labour. But together with the comparatively poor technical equipment many of them had still another hampering feature. Such small enterprises often were using either the home work or the family help. Now, the position of family help was as a rule a very loosely defined economic position. Often she had to give a hand in the intervals from her housewifery job. Mostly she had no wages, her work being unofficial. Her situation in such cases resembled very much to that of the wife of a small agricultural owner. On the other hand the small enterprises not needing large capital and technical experience offered to energetic women many opportunities for an independent career.

That they profited from such occasions was easy to perceive from the statistical data.

In commerce the situation resembled that of small industrial enterprises. The chief obstacle was lack of capital, insufficient former experience and distrustful attitude of male traders in larger scale business.

The difficulties of the lack of experience and unwilling attitude from the part of men occupying key positions were hampering considerably women in Public Administration and in the professions. Although theoretically enjoying the equal rights without sex discrimination in salaries and admissions, women were paid less and filled lower posts as a matter of policy.

The unemployment which was a common phenomenon in the inter-war period hampered also the influx of women.

But on the other hand the forcibly unemployed male bread-winners often caused the female members of family to go to work when it was easier to find a job in the female occupations. Charring and washing, small retail trade done by women helped to carry on many unemployed or underemployed families of agricultural or industrial workers. Among the salaried people numerous women were also family supporters. It was possible because there was no marriage bar. At the same time these circumstances helped to make working women more popular in the society and made it impossible to introduce the marriage bar even during the worst unemployment period.

During the inter-war period the women have ~~to~~ made a considerable progress in respect of their economic position. They have flowed in considerable numbers into any educational institutions acquiring the necessary training for future work. What was still more important, by entering new professions, filling up new posts, slowly, labouriously they were making headway against the general distrust and disbelief in women's competence.
I/

From this summary together with the ~~discussed~~ data discussed the following conclusions may be drawn :

1/Legally women were equal to men.

2/It is necessary to consider separately economic activities of Polish women in agriculture and other occupations.

3/In agriculture the part played by women was as important as that of men. There was no possibility of attaining strict equality with men in a given agricultural and social structure, women having different social and economic status, not necessarily lower from that of men.

4/In agriculture women enjoyed a considerable degree of economic independence owing to the widespread ownership of holdings.

5/In other occupations women's part was considerable.

I/Such an attitude of the society is easier to understand when one takes into account that before 1914 Poles had to live under the influence of Russian and German conceptions of women's sphere. So, they had no occasion to see any practical application of these political and social principles in the economic field, except in the underground movements or at least in semi-legal agricultural conservative division of labour. Thus, only after 1918 women were able to begin a more effective race for equal chances.

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Part III. Comparison and Final conclusions.
Chapter VIII General introductory remarks.

§ 1 Arrangement of the comparison.

After describing the economic position of women in Great Britain and Poland respectively it is necessary to carry out the comparison and to draw the conclusions from the apparent differences and analogies.

As in every comparison of a set of economic phenomena necessarily based upon different social frameworks this one must be carried out with great care in order to avoid misunderstandings, because of the different background. At the same time it is worthwhile to make an effort to discount those differences which are perhaps only of superficial importance, the real meaning of things being the same.

How such a comparison is to be made?

First of all some essential differences in the social and economic framework of the two countries are involved as for instance, the agricultural character of Poland.

Then the general population data of both countries must be brought forward and compared in order to observe if there are any essential differences in numbers or general composition.

It can be safely assumed that in the more detailed analysis the non-agricultural occupations would have to be treated separately from agriculture. So, the further step is to compare the position of working women in these two groups of occupation separately.

Before discussing the typical problems arising from the incur

sion of independent women into the modern economic fabric the legal framework has to be compared. Its knowledge will help to assess the chances of career and general position of women in the society.

When the aforementioned problems will have to be discussed and on such a basis final conclusions will be drawn.

In short, the following arrangement of the comparison is adopted :

1. General differences of social and economic framework.
2. Comparison of general data.
3. Comparative analysis of non-agricultural occupation.
4. Agriculture.
5. Legal framework.
6. Foremost problems of female labour.
7. Final conclusions.

§ 2 Principal differences of social and economic framework.

The elucidation of differences of social and economic framework of two countries is a subject in itself. It involves vast documentation both of an historical and statistical kind and could easily outgrow the subject of the thesis. It is therefore necessary to limit oneself to the enumeration of the most important differences from the point of view of the female labour only. Naturally, such an enumeration cannot be full, being rather of an exemplary than an exhaustive character.

Some most important differences are quite obvious to everyone, some were mentioned before in previous parts.

Putting apart a spectacular difference of political importance and place in the world politics the foremost social difference is perhaps the general way of growth of particular social and political institutions and way of life during some hundred years. In Britain there was a display of political and social forces which caused a slow but steady transformation of the social and political structure. Women were moving forward gradually, having possibility to preach their ideas openly, to convince public opinion /even in some rather unusual ways/ owing to the wonderful democratic spirit, permitting the British society in all its strata, notwithstanding the conservative attitude of some sections.

Now, Polish society, divided between three occupant Powers, could not find the free expression of its opinions nor put them into practice.

These opinions, the tendencies of reforms were accumulating in underground movements, without the proper criterion of an open discussion, having moreover little chance, if any to undergo practical tests. So, the inter-war period is for Poland's social life that of a sudden uprise and expansion, while many beliefs, cherished by citizens, were to be confronted with the severe test of practice.

Thus, there was bound to be, at the beginning of the inter-war period, a very considerable discrepancy between the economic and legal framework, built up under the rule of occupying Powers during more than hundred years. This discrepancy could not exist in Britain, as any social opinions of sufficient strength have

found their way to the practical application, to some extent at least.

In the economic structure the most important difference is that between an industrial and agricultural country. But such a general statement must have further qualifications in order to acquire proper meaning. Britain has passed an old and leading industrial and trading country. She has passed a long way of industrial development, her labour forces having fought successfully both in the political and the economic field. This involves particular occupational structure adjusted to that of manufacturing industries and trade with the background of well organised labour.

Poland was deprived of proper influence on her economic life, distorted by the political partition of Polish territory among three States, which had aims of their own. Her structure as an agricultural country was characterised chiefly by the prevailing part played by small free holdings and the overpopulation. This involved the tendency to look for some outlet /chiefly industrial towns/ from the part of the surplus of the agricultural population. At the same time the fact that such a large proportion was composed from small agricultural owners rendered the agricultural structure rather difficult to change and involved a considerable stiffness of economic and social conditions for this part of population /i.e. women also /.

§ 3 Comparison of general data.

The first question, which occurs now, concerns the general number of women in both countries, or rather their relative number

in respect to the men, and surplus left.

In 1931 for 100 males there were circa 109.1 females in Britain, this proportion having tendency to be stabilised at 108.0 at the end of the inter-war period. For Poland the same figure is 106.9. But, while looking at respective figures for urban and rural areas they show a serious difference. In urban areas of Poland there were 112.8 females per 100 males while in rural areas only 104.7.

In Poland inhabitants of rural areas can be safely ascribed in some 90-95% to the agricultural occupations, those of urban areas being in non-agricultural, while in Britain the population living from agriculture formed circa 10% of the total. It looks therefore as if the surplus of women tended to become more noticeable among the non-agricultural population. Incidentally, the comparatively stronger surplus of women among Poland's urban population /112.8, that for Britain - 109.0/ can be explained to some extent by larger migration of women to the towns. Moreover this surplus was strongest for the groups of age 20-59, /some 119.5 for towns and 105.9 for rural areas/ and for women over 60.

But broadly speaking, in both countries such a surplus of women existed, for Britain amounting to 1.9 million, for Poland to 1 Million.

I/ Women of 60-69	129.8/urban/ 111.3/rural/
Women of 70 and over.....	152.2/urban/ 114.1/rural/ (per 100 males)

Table 48.

Comparisomal general data for 1931./From censuses of popul-
----- lation/ -----

	Great Britain	Poland
1. Females per 100 males	109.0	106.9
2. Surplus of females :		
a/in %% to the total number of population	4.3	3.1
b/in millions	1.8	1.0
3. % of ^{working} women in respect to:		
a/the total number of gainfully occupied population	29.76	46.0
b/the total number of women	26.9	62.5

The comparison of the percentages of gainfully occupied women for Britain and Poland gives a startling result. While in Britain working women formed less than one third of the total, Polish working women ^{were} ~~being~~ nearly half of the total number. Still more striking is the difference in proportions of working women to their total number, Proportionately, Polish working women were more than two times numerous.

Then , the general occupational distribution has to be looked at./Table 49/..

At first glance the well known difference in occupations between an industrial and agricultural country is easily noticed. But the data for female labour are far more interesting. In Poland the prevalence of agricultural occupations among the women is more outstanding than for men. In Britain situation is

quite ^{the} reverse. While looking at the share of women in particu -

Table 49.

Occupational distribution by principal groups for Britain and
-----Poland/1931/-----

I. Agriculture. 2. Manufacturing industries. 3. Services/commerce, finance, transport, personal service etc. / . / % / .						
A. Great Britain. B. Poland.		I.		2.		3.
		A	B	A	B	A B
I. Total gainfully occ. population		12.2	75.3	38.8	11.8	49.0 12.9
II. Total, gainf. occ. males		17.1	71.4	39.4	15.2	43.5 13.4
III. Total gainf. occ. females		1.5	84.0	38.2	5.1	60.3 10.9
IV. % of females in a giv ven group		3.4	49.9	28.0	21.8	37.2 40.5

lar groups it is easily observed that the largest discrepancy between British and Polish data concerns the agricultural group while for two other groups the data are near each other.

So the peculiar and prevalent part played by agriculture in Poland's female labour is once more confirmed, as well as resulting necessity to treat this question separately.

Chapter XIV Comparative analysis of non-agricultural occupations

While discussing the problem of non-agricultural occupations one circumstance must be borne in mind. In Britain more than nine tenths of working women are comprised by this class, in Poland - less than one fifth. This proportion illustrates the specific gravity of phenomenon from the numerical point of view. The word "numerical" was inserted on purpose and great stress has to be

laid upon it in respect to Polish particular relations. The numerical proportion did not correspond either to the economic potential or to the dynamics of social and economic development. Women in the non-agricultural occupations were full-time workers, which was not always true in respect to the other part. They were used in the secondary and tertiary production, which according to modern economists means a far higher average productivity per worker than per agricultural worker particularly in the regions, suffering from a hidden unemployment or underemployment.

On the other hand, there was a constant shifting of population, even more outstanding among women than men, from the agricultural to other occupations. Thus, the group of non-agricultural occupations was a group with a future, a group rising both in numbers and in importance. But all these factors, although increasing the importance of the non-agricultural group, well above the sheer percentage of 17%, can not alter the fact that this group was nevertheless in the minority and its conditions by no means affected the whole female labour to such a degree as in Britain.

After these reservations let the proper comparison be tackled.

First of all the share of women in the total labour in this group is to be established/ see table 52./

It is a striking fact that while in the total number of gainfully occupied population Poland shows a far higher percentage of women, for ~~both~~ the non-agricultural group this percen-

Table 52.

Percentage of women in the total number of gainfully occupied population in non-agricultural classes.

I.	Great Britain	Poland
1. % of women in total number of gainf. occ. population	29.2	46.0
2. % of women in gainfully occ. non-agricultural population	31.2	31.4

tage is almost the same for both countries.

With regard to the occupational distribution, the general comparative data are seen in table 53.

Table 53.

Percentage distribution of female labour.

	Great Britain	Poland
1. Manufacturing industries	37.0	31.0
2. Domestic service	33.9	23.9
3. Commerce, finance, insurance	11.2	17.8

The principal three classes are the same, relatively more female labour being grouped in manufacturing industries and domestic service in Britain.

Manufacturing industries.

Manufacturing industries accounted for almost two fifths of the female labour in Britain, and slightly less than for one third in Poland. The percentage of women in the total labour

occupied in these industries was almost the same in both countries./Between one third and one fourth of the total/.

The principal female branches were also the same in Britain and in Poland. The same leading part was played by the textile industry, followed by clothing and foodstuff industries, while at the opposite pole stood metal, building and other male industries. In both countries too, the same branches, occupying most of female labour, showed the greatest percentage of women in respect to the total number of occupied.

Domestic service.

This class of occupation was numerically important for both countries although for Poland less than for Britain. Women played a prevailing part, but far more male servants were in Britain /20% of the total/ than in Poland /4%/. It seems interesting to calculate what was the proportion of domestic servants to the population. Assuming that in Poland some 40% of population /active and passive/ were non-agricultural - one servant was for 51 persons in this group. In Britain the elimination of servants occupied at non-agricultural houses is very difficult. But on the other hand, the agricultural occupations play relatively small part and therefore the total proportion can be taken for comparison's sake. It gives one servant for 32 persons.

Commerce, finance and insurance.

This class, numerically more important for Poland than for Britain, shows a strikingly huge percentage of independent/see table 54/.

Table 54.

Commerce, finance and insurance occupations.

	% of the total female labour	% of independent in total female labour in this class	% of women in respect to the male&female la- bour in this class
Great Britain	11.2	24.2	30.0
Poland	17.2	41.0	36.6

Professions.

In both countries women were mostly concentrated in health services and teaching. In teaching, women accounted for circa 50% with the even larger percentage in primary education, gradually diminishing in higher types of schools.

In health services, the nursing profession was practically monopolised by women in Britain and Poland as well.

In the so-called liberal professions, the foremost from the feminine point of view was the medical profession, Polish women having far larger share in the total number of doctors than British. Almost one third of all Polish doctors were women, while for Britain the same proportion was slightly more than one tenth.

I/. Strictly speaking: for Poland percentage of women-doctors was 31.2, for Britain - 11.2 of the total number respectively.
/In 1931/.

The legal profession involves some difficulties in comparison because of its division in barristers and solicitors, unknown in Poland, where only advocates were known exercising the functions of barristers and some functions of solicitors. But, generally on the basis of the data below it seems justified to state that women in Poland's legal profession were relatively more numerous than in Britain.

There were some 100 women among 5000 Polish advocates, while 133 women for 19000 of British solicitors and 213 women for more than 22000 judges, magistrates, barristers and solicitors were in Great Britain.

In technical professions the comparison in a straightforward way is impossible because of the non-existence in Poland of the professional engineers in ^{the} British meaning of this word. Nevertheless, the number of female students taking technical courses in higher education/university standard/ can illustrate fairly accurately the importance of the female share in technical occupations. There were 7.4% of women among technical students in Poland and 1.8% in Britain.

Civil Service.

The lack of more detailed data for Poland does not permit of carrying out an accurate comparison between the female labour in Civil Service of the two countries, particularly from the point of view of the average earnings and position. But with the help of the general knowledge of the situation of Polish wo-

men in the Civil Service it is possible to form the approximate idea of their position.

Notwithstanding the different regulations in Britain and in Poland in respect to the Civil Service i.e. the lack of any legal discrimination against women Civil Servants in Poland - the situation was much the same in both countries in respect to the posts held and lower average earnings.

The proportion of women in the Civil Services of both countries was nearly the same with some superiority of Britain.

Agriculture.

While comparing the agricultural occupations it is necessary to bear in mind both the differences arising from numerical importance as well as from the agricultural structure and ways of economic exploitation of the soil in both countries.

First of all-numbers. In Britain there was a mere handful of women gainfully occupied in agriculture - some 70-80 thousands. Even taking into account the helping members of family, the typical and important item in the balance of agricultural labour, this number was far below two hundred thousand. And what about the other familiar item - an agricultural housewife, whose domestic work has usually such a mixed character as making impossible to discern her housewifery from her part as helping member of family in agricultural production? Here the answer is to be found in the number of holdings, which is in Britain below half a million. It seems justified to make important deduction from this number on behalf of a certain number of holdings not necessarily of agricul

tural character than to add to it.

The corresponding figures for Poland.

Hired female labour in agriculture amounted to circa half a million. Women - members of the agricultural teams numbered some eight millions. Of those eight millions - half a million were heads of teams i.e. independent agricultural holders.

As there were almost three millions of male heads of teams, the number of agricultural housewives / on holdings/ can be safely estimated at about two and half millions.

So, there are about six hundred thousands of British women /including housewives/ engaged full or part-time in agricultural production against some eight and half million of Polish women. This discrepancy quite naturally resulting from the different economic character of the two countries, is further emphasised by the particular features of Poland's agricultural structure. These features are clearly and easily deduced from two figures given above : comparatively small number of hired labour and very many holdings. This implied quite a different way of life and work.

As a rule the Polish agricultural female worker toiled on her own as a Scottish crofter as opposite to the British farming relying to a very large extent on hired labour. Such a peculiarity has manifold consequences. It makes women usually work harder under an incentive of multiplying her and her family's property.

They are not covered by any social legislation, regulating hours

I/. The proportion of hired labourers with their families to the members of teams /as a rule a members of owner's family / was as 1 : 7.

of work or wages. On the other hand they develop a sturdy feeling of social stability and independence, although their property varies and depends often very much on the agricultural value of the holding, its soil etc. On the whole Polish women working in agriculture because of their numbers and because of the mentioned peculiarity of Poland's agricultural structure were not able to change their conditions of work and standard of life without very deep changes in agricultural structure of the country, depending on it to a much larger extent than the British agricultural women workers.

The legal framework.

At first, the comparison in the legal sphere is simple. There are no gaps in data, no ambiguity in interpreting the importance of this or that factor. But, there is still one factor to be reckoned with. It is the date at what the legal position has to be taken into account. If somebody had undertaken to compare the legal position of British and Polish women, let us say in 1923, he would have been surprised by the results. Polish women had strictly the same ^{political} rights as men, particularly in respect to the voting rights, while British women were restricted by age limit of 30 years or other conditions unknown in respect to men. In the sphere of inheritance there was very strong discrimination in English law in disfavour of women, while Polish law dropped any sex discrimination in this respect a long time previously.

But the date of 1930, for instance would give a different result. The sex discrimination being dropped by British laws too, it would be difficult to detect at first glance any important difference.

rences. In both countries women had full political rights, could dispose of their property as men. In both countries also the woman had to take the name and nationality of her husband, a fact which was met with criticism from some sections of the society.

There were naturally differences arising from the different legal systems of the two countries, differences not necessarily of a discriminative character, but having influence on women's position. Two of them are worth mentioning. In Britain the unified form of civil register marriage was introduced, putting on an equal footing all women and men in their relations in this respect. In Poland with the exception of the western provinces the civil marriage form was for most of the population synonymous with the religious marital ceremony, the priest exercising the functions of State registrar. This led to complications, particularly in cases of mixed marriages.

The other legal institution worth mentioning is the so-called legitima pars in Polish inheritance laws. Because of the legitima pars the testator was not able to deprive of inheritance his spouse, children and parents, the law fixing what part of his fortune could be disposed with by will. This limitation made usually a wife and daughter less dependent on the goodwill of the testator.

In respect to the working women the British prohibition of entering any branches of Civil Service other than Home Civil Service did not exist in Poland, perhaps because of the lack of colonies.

The protective legislation of working women did exist in both countries. But this much discussed question will be dealt with separately,

As a whole it seems justified to state that legally the position of women was much the same in both countries.

Chapter XV. Foremost problems of female labour.

In the previous chapter some general aspects of the economic structure of female labour were compared. But there are several problems of female labour very much discussed and very popular practically in every country where female labour is used in a modern way.

These problems being very much alive, it seems interesting to confront the position of working women in both countries exactly from the ~~position of working women~~ point of view of their relative importance at the present time. Without exhausting the list the following question may be accepted as the principal problems of female labour :

- 1/ Was women's work outside home really desirable ?
- 2/ Work of married women /family question, housing, domestic help/.
- 3/ Equal start and chances of career /access to particular occupations, education/.
- 4/ Equal pay for equal work /protective legislation/.

1/. Desirability of women's work outside home.

The statistical data of working women, the sheer fact of their work in numbers since the Industrial Revolution, more than one hundred years ago seems to be ~~xxxxx~~ sufficient proof, justifying

women's work outside the home ~~the home~~. But during the inter-war period the right of women to work, its social and economic soundness were challenged by many quarters, even some counter-measures being applied.

Then striving for independence, the full use of inborn and developed faculties of women and all other movements can be taken as granted.

But, in addition to these arguments there is in existence another factor - a slow, but steady increase of surplus of women among the town population. ^{I/} Such a surplus of women besides the tendency of loosening of family bounds, or rather limiting family circle to parents and children simply forced supernumerary women to work. That was true for Britain and that was true for Poland's urban population too. Incidentally, it would be most unusual for an average Polish peasants if somebody tried to apply the principle of women's true sphere strictly to the agricultural work. It would mean to exclude women from functions assigned to them by a thousands years of tradition. Moreover it would prove disastrous economically - a small holding being not able to afford hired labour, while the labour of the male head of the family could not suffice for proper cultivation. The constant shifting of population to urban areas from the country, where the women's part in production was normal and firmly rooted, had its influence. ^{I/} Perhaps this tendency is of transitory character and will disappear when women will acquire full equality, losing all rest of privileges of a sheltered position, afforded to the middle class women by XIX cent.

ce on the society's attitude. Moreover either they were not able to find a living there, or they longed for more independence. In both cases their aim was to work. The tradition of a leisured lady type was less spread in Poland, than in Britain.

But, as was mentioned before, during the inter-war period two essential challenges against the women's work appeared.

First of them was unemployment. The simplest way of relieving strain of unemployment upon the labour market seemed to many minds to be the reduction of supply by sending women back home. This economic factor combined with the conservative social idea of woman's true sphere. It was backed by a desire to check the decrease of the birth rate. Now, the unemployment and the decrease of the birth rate were observed in Great Britain as well as in Poland. But the latter was not still a problem in Poland, the actual birth rate being still very high, although it gave a warning bell. The unemployment was acute in both countries. But while in Britain it was possible to discuss the industrial unemployment as a problem of disequilibrium of the labour market - in Poland the industrial unemployment was a very fractional aspect of a far larger problem - the overpopulation of the country in its agricultural structure.

The driving off of women from agricultural production being unreal the female labour in industry was therefore not a decisive factor.

Thus, these two challenges were playing a weaker part in Poland than in Britain.

Quite naturally these backwards tendencies towards female labour had to exercise their influence on the weaker spots. So, it was not possible to find how a single woman could do without her living, but it was easy to say that a married woman could rely upon her husband's earnings only. The branches of industry using traditionally female labour were not inclined to switch off to male workers. So women had to be convinced that new openings, new, more profitable careers were not suitable for them.

The checking of the falling of the birth rate had to be carried out through the family - so a married woman had to be discouraged from working outside the home. These tendencies were reflected thus in other problems, particularly in the problem of work of married women, and in the problem of equal opportunity. These will be discussed there.

Work of married women.

The right of work of married women became a very much discussed and controversial topic of the inter-war period.

It is difficult to discuss this matter with a clear cut yes or no. It is also difficult to define the attitude of the society as well as the economic importance of the labour of married women working outside the home. If they work in the factory they surely neglect their household duties bringing up of children etc even when doing their best.

What then is the resultant of such forces acting in opposite directions ?

At first it seems necessary to establish the real and poten-

tial numbers of working married women as a whole in particular branches.

The table 55 contains comparative percentages for both countries.

Table 55.

Percentages of married women in female labour of Great Britain and Poland, calculated on the basis of the census of population in 1931./Agriculture excluded./

	Great Britain			Poland		
	% of single women	% of married women	% of widows	% of single women	% of married women	% of widows
1. Total	77.2	15.9	6.9	57.5	20.2	21.8
2. Total, without domestic service	74.0	19.0	6.9	48.0	25.1	26.1
3. Manufacturing industries	72.8	23.1	4.1	55.5	27.2	16.4
4. Commerce & insurance	76.5	14.8	8.7	37.0	36.2	26.8
5. Transport & communications	85.0	8.2	6.8	58.0	25.0	16.5

The single working women prevailed in both countries, but their percentage was far higher in Britain than in Poland. After omitting domestic service, a typical occupation for single women this discrepancy grows even larger. For three-quarter of single women in total for Britain there was slightly less than a half of single women in the female labour in Poland. But the difference in percentages of married women was smaller than one

would expect, 20-25% of married women in the female labour being the percentage in Poland and 16-19% in Britain.

So, the difference in percentages of single women was chiefly made up by larger percentages of working widows^{I/} in Poland. Working married women were chiefly grouped in manufacturing industries and commerce. Poland showed higher percentage in the commercial group /almost 1/3 of the total/, Britain - in that of manufacturing industries.

There are additional difficulties arising from the work of a married woman in comparison with a single one. First there is the relation of her work to the household duties and children. Is she able to bring up children properly and exercise the usual duties of a housewife? Even if she manages to do so, whether the burden is not too heavy on a long run and whether it can be accepted as a normal and desirable situation?

The second question is strictly connected with the unemployment and the level of wages. Is a married woman entitled to work her husband having another job, while there are many men unemployed? Both these questions are interconnected with so many problems that it seems impossible to solve them by the way of short answer.

In respect to the first question - one ought to emphasise

I/. This can be explained, among others, by the poverty of Poland's society in comparison with that of Britain and difficulty in securing the future of dependents by the way of savings or other means.

the influence of ^a ~~the~~ mother on the proper home atmosphere and children's education. This influence is a factor, the importance of which in the life of individuals and of the nation can not be denied.

Even leaving aside the problem of unmarried mothers or married women deserted by their husbands - it seems doubtful if such a question could be solved satisfactorily by a mechanical regulation, prohibiting women with children to work outside the home.

In the first place it could provoke quite an opposite result - a woman could be unwilling to have children, or delaying this for several years till perhaps it would be too late at all.

Moreover, it would be unjust for a woman, who by her work would have attained some position and would prize her work much.

Incidentally, the boarding schools, the different additional occupations for children and youths in training them in the service for the community, and for the State and by the State, modern mass amusements etc. tend to diminish the influence of the home atmosphere.

On the other hand the bearing of children being of the utmost importance for the modern State with its tendency of declining birth rate, it seems justified to help the newly wed couples in setting up house and particularly in starting a family.

Young couples often have to abstain from having children because of no chances of increased earnings in the near future the actual earnings of the husband being insufficient for sup -

port of the family. Better wages would solve this difficulty.

It is possible also to envisage family allowance. A citizen, who by more than usual privations brings up children, who are then taken by the State and for the State's sake seems entitled to be helped in his task in order to make his financial situation less unfavourable in comparison with others without such obligations.

In respect to the unemployment it seems unjust to tend to diminish unemployment by depriving married women of the right to work. The unemployment problem can not be solved in this way, it far surpasses such a means. For women such restrictions mean the lack of continuity of their careers, often hamper them in concluding marriages/ quite the opposite in the case of men/ and make the feel inferior in comparison with the male part of the society.

Notwithstanding the unemployment, in both countries married women were working. Only in Britain there were several cases of formal or actual prohibitions against the work of married women. Incidentally, they concerned such jobs, as Civil Service and teaching, which could be carried out by married women easier than in other cases left unrestricted. No restrictions of this kind were in Poland. Moreover, the attitude of the society was different. It was accepted as a matter of fact that in many cases the earnings of a young man could not be sufficient for the upkeep of the family. The young couple refused to wait for the promotion

of the man and settled their home on the basis of the work of both. This was caused by the general poverty of the society, resulting ^{from} ~~from~~ relatively low wages, and a very acute housing problem. The most important item in a new family budget was rent, as newly wed couples had little chance to get a house or flat subjected to ~~to~~ tenant's rights. Moreover a very important factor was in this case a different attitude of the Polish woman accepting readily the double burden of housewife and worker outside the home. As was mentioned before she was helped in many cases by the more accessible help of domestic service.

So, the right to work of married women in Poland was more firmly and fully established than in Britain, to a large extent because of the economic necessity.

Its substitution, the family allowance was tried in several cases, but in both countries was yet accepted as a principle.

Equal start and equal chances of career.

The problem of equal start involves the equal access to all occupations being linked with the problem of equal chances of career by educational facilities. moreover in the latter problem the protective legislation plays a prominent part.

Broadly speaking, the legal position of women in both countries was almost the same with the scales slightly in favour of Polish women. After 1918 the barriers to all professions and occupations were pulled down in Poland while in Britain it was done with some delay, as in the case of organisation of professional engineers some exceptions still being kept. But the most important I/As, for instance, the exclusion from judicial posts, some branches of Civil Service, non extant in Poland.

handicap of British female labour was the apprenticeship system with anti-female discrimination devised by British Trade Unions. In this way almost two-fifths of female labour /i.e. women working in industry/ were excluded from many more profitable occupations and jobs. There was not such a strictly defined arrangement in Poland, but the customary way in many industrial branches, also backed by Trade Unions, to some extent was yielding much the same result.

Here the most important factor of women's discrimination is at work : the attitude of the society, or at least of this part of the society which had at that moment a final say.

The society still has not yet grown accustomed to the women filling posts on an equal footing with men and unofficial discrimination was carried out in both countries. It was like a kind of conspiracy, very peculiar, spontaneous and unorganised, of men who disliked women in superior positions. Such an attitude handicapped women seriously, being difficult to overcome, because it could not be done by an Act of Parliament. But, on the other hand it was possible to soften it by slow and patient penetration.

While speaking about the equal start it is necessary to mention educational facilities. The proper education was not easier to start any career, in many cases being a *conditio sine qua non* as for instance, in the medical profession. The handicap in technical education by exclusion from apprenticeship in Britain was mentioned above. It was even more acute a case for British women, as in Poland in several cases the technical vocational schools open to women proved a workable substitute at least

of a pioneering character.

The ^ustitution of public schools for boys was another I/
handicap in Britain without proper correspondence in Poland.
It is true that the Polish State provided less facilities in
secondary education for girls, but it was balanced out by ar -
rangements in private schooling.

Very interesting is the comparison of the proportions of
female students in both countries. The percentage of female stu -
dents in Britain was almost stable and even on the decline,
while in Poland it was steadily rising. Perhaps Polish parents
did not yet have time to notice that the University training
for a girl was not an exceptionally sound investment. Perhaps
also Polish girls, starting en masse later than their British
sisters, had not yet time to grow dissatisfied in this respect.

The chances of career were in Poland theoretically equal
in the most perfect way. In Britain there were several excep -
tions. But the reality differed sharply from the theory in both
countries. The best example is offered perhaps by the Civil Ser -
vice. In Britain two scales of salaries, existence of different
grades showed a discriminative policy against women-civil ser -
vants. At the same time the slower/^{and less numerous} promotions were also a
matter of common knowledge. In Poland woman - civil servants
had strictly the same status as men. But the actual practice
was much the same as in Britain,

I/ The same is true in respect to some famous medical schools,
refusing to train women, such an institution non extant in Po -
land.

women, as a rule, were in lower grades, slower promoted and therefore in fact less paid. But the lack of legal discrimination made to some extent their position easier. First, in many cases, particularly in lower grades, they really were treated in the same way as men.

Generally, it seems possible to state that the unwilling attitude of the society to women in more responsible posts or still "male" occupations proved effective in both countries with or without discriminating provisions.

Equal pay for equal work.

The chief motive of recruiting women workers was their cheapness. This implied that they substituted dearer, male labour and were paid less for the same work. All statements about worse qualifications, smaller efficiency etc. can not change the fundamental fact that the willingness of employers to engage women workers was caused by the good bargain for employers by using female labour. It seems absurd to imagine a typical *laissez-faire* employer moved by sentimental reasons in his economic activity.

Thus, discrimination in pay was at the roots of female labour as a matter of fact arrangement. It had subsisted fully till the inter-war period. The difference in wages between male and female workers was to some extent theoretically / although in a rather doubtful way / balanced by the protective legislation, affording less arduous conditions of work and certain privileges to female workers. But at the same time protective legislation afforded also a very popular argument on behalf of the wages discrimi-

nation and the preference in some occasions for male employees, shown by the employers, usually men of conservative opinions.

The sex discrimination in wages was to be found in both countries as well as the protective legislation, even the arguments of the employers being the same. Only the forms of application and the extent differed.

In Britain a strict rule of separate scales of wages or salaries for both sexes was adopted. In any case of fixing pay by Trade Boards or by official salaries or by arrangements with Trade Unions the sex discrimination was applied. Moreover the discrimination was extended on insurance benefits and flat rates of contribution of insured. This was based on a theoretical assumption that a man was an effective or potential family breadwinner, a working woman being a single one.^{I/}

In Poland, the sex discrimination was carried out rather in the way of actual arrangements. If the kind of work differed definitely according to sex as for instance in agriculture, the rates fixed in agreements with Trade Unions followed such a difference. But when the work was the same, there was not formal discrimination, practically women being paid less by accepting lower grades, lower posts, lower rates of wages etc. This tendency, combined with the aforementioned unwillingness to appoint women for more responsible posts is well illustrated by the average earnings of insured women, which were far lower in comparison with -----
I/. It must be taken into account that on the whole men and women do different work.

those of men with the same educational and vocational standard. But on the whole women seemed to be better off without formal discrimination. For instance, the mass of female State teachers were paid the same salaries as their male colleagues, the average wages of juvenile female workers were the same, or in some occupations higher than these of boys. The strictly equal insurance rates and benefits influenced the position of Polish working women both in a material and psychological way giving her feeling of equality and affording the same security as for men

Chapter XV Conclusions.

Conclusions which may be possibly drawn from the comparative analysis of economic position of working women in Britain and Poland are distinctly divided into two groups : The first concerns the comparative position of women in two countries and has to give an answer to the question in which country and in what respects this position was better. The second group deals with conclusions of a general character based on the comparison of two countries of different economic structure.

The comparative position of working women in Britain and Poland.

Taking the working women of each country en bloc one must make allowance for the different level of national income. The higher national income, total and per head of population, if the distribution of incomes is not particularly distorted by some social and economic peculiarities, is bound to influence favourably the position of working women as a whole. This influence is expressed not only by a higher average quantity of goods availa-

ble to the consumer, but also by the general arrangements of public utilities, by larger incomes of Public Administration.

For instance, the housing problem so important from the family's point of view, could be tackled on a far larger scale and with a far better success by British Local Authorities with tax incomes many times larger than in Poland.

But there is another difficulty of assessment, arising from the often mentioned agricultural character of Poland. It is hopeless to find out who was better off - a wife of a small agricultural holder in Poland, or a female town worker in Britain. Surely, a British woman had more urban amenities, lacking instead the attractions of the independent position of a Polish agricultural housewife. That these attractions were appreciated the best proof is given by many cases of emigrants to towns who after making sufficient savings returned to the life on a purchased holdings.

Therefore, the attention has to be paid rather to the position of women in other occupations.

The principal aspects of the position of working women were discussed in respect to both countries and the results of this discussion can be put together as follows :

I. General structure of female labour.

General data for working women as their percentage in respect to the total number of women, that of gainfully occupied population, were more or less the same for both countries. The distribution of female labour among particular occupations had also

much resemblance.

2. Legal position.

In both countries women acquired the same legal status as men, few exceptions being also the same. ^{I/} In the sphere of labour some legal sex discriminations still preserved in Britain were unknown in Poland, ^{2/} because of their economic character they will be described later under the appropriate headings.

Protective legislation ^{was in force} in both countries.

3. Access to the occupations.

In both countries expressed prohibitions were removed with few exceptions in Britain. But in both countries the practice still differed from the theory. The unwilling attitude of the society, the leading part played in economic sphere by men, reluctant to admit new competitors, lack of sufficiently numerous experienced and qualified women hampered practically women in pioneering penetration into new occupations. This was more prominent in Britain as is shown by the case of apprenticeship to trades.

4. The equal chances of career.

The formal obstacles being negligible, the principal handicap was caused by the reluctant attitude of the society towards women's work in the more responsible and better paid jobs. This is true for both countries. In the professions Polish woman had a larger share, but were less successful in political careers.

5. Work of married women.

~~100~~ Here the attitude of the society in the two countries differed. ^{I/} For instance the surname and nationality of husband taken by wife. ^{2/} e.g. the different benefits in social insurances.

red. In Poland, the right to work of married women was accepted and sustained both for economic and social reasons. In Britain - in some cases strict prohibitions were applied.

6. Equal pay for equal work.

Here also the position in the two countries differed, perhaps not so much in the practical results as in the method of attainment.

In Britain the wages were fixed for women at lower rates even if the work was the same as for instance in teaching. In Poland the lower average earnings of women resulted from the actual discrimination, owing to which women filled less paid posts, which was also taking place in Britain.

Summarizing the economic position of working women in Great Britain and in Poland in a few words it seems justified to state, that in both countries working women were much worse off than men, that the discrimination was rather a matter of actual policy but in Britain it was backed to some extent by open arrangement and provisions, what made it more difficult for women to improve their position, that women in Great Britain advanced more in political careers^{I/}, while in Poland they were doing better to some extent in the professions.

II. General conclusions.

I. The above conclusions show the striking difference between the two countries in comparing the general data of female
I/. There was not yet a woman - member of Cabinet in Poland during inter-war period.

labour gives way to the striking similarity when agriculture is excluded.

It is possible therefore to form an opinion that the female labour and its structure depends more upon favourable conditions created by the state of the technical means of production and economic organisation, the legal and social emancipation of women helping rather the improvement of conditions of work and career.

2. The emancipation of women is only the first step towards creating equal conditions of work and careers for working women. The reluctant attitude of the society, the vested interests of male labour prove to be a formidable check in face of which the legal principles remain pure theory.

3. The development of female labour, based on favourable economic conditions has advanced quicker than the change in social fabric, without reciprocal adjustment. This circumstance was at the roots of several problems often acute but of rather a transitory character such as equal opportunity and chances of a career, equal pay for equal work, work of married women.

The efforts to find a proper solution of such problems would take into account not only their economic side but also their social counter-part.

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